

THE
Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XVI.—NEW SERIES, No. 434.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1854.

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| Brixton-hill—Rev. J. Hall— | | | | |
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| A Friend | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
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| J. Smith, Esq. | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| C. Walton, Esq. | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 67 | 1 | 1 |

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| City-road—Rev. W. S. Edwards | | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Clapham—Rev. J. Hill | | 80 | 1 | 8 |
| Rev. J. B. Brown, B.A. | | 27 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. B. Price | | 11 | 13 | 2 |
| Coverdale Chapel, Limehouse—Rev. J. E. Richards | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Craven Chapel—Rev. Dr. Leifchild | | 70 | 0 | 0 |
| Deptford—Rev. J. Pulling | | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| Eccleston Chapel—Rev. J. Davies | | 27 | 3 | 0 |
| Falcon-square—Rev. Dr. Bennett | | 40 | 0 | 3 |
| Finchley—Rev. G. R. Burch | | 11 | 9 | 5 |
| Finsbury Chapel—Rev. Dr. Fletcher | | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Greenwich-road—Rev. W. Lucy | | 40 | 0 | 0 |

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|--|---------|----|----|---|
| Hackney— | | | | |
| Old Gravel Pit—Rev. J. Davies | | 50 | 3 | 4 |
| Collection | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| E. Pye Smith, Esq. | | 55 | 3 | 4 |
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| St. Thomas's-square—Rev. W. Kirkus, B.L. | | 40 | 3 | 0 |
| Highgate—Rev. E. Cornwell | | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Hornbury Chapel—Rev. W. Roberts— | | | | |
| Collection | | 26 | 0 | 5 |
| A Friend to China | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| C. Hindley, Esq. | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Walker, Esq. | | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 56 | 0 | 0 |

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| Kingsland—Rev. T. W. Aveling | | 23 | 1 | 4 |
| Middleton Chapel—Rev. C. Dukes | | 9 | 1 | 0 |
| Mile-end New Town— | | | | |
| Collection | | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. W. Tyler | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| New Cross—Rev. J. B. Lister | | 3 | 12 | 0 |
| New Tabernacle—Rev. I. Vaughan | | 15 | 2 | 0 |
| Orange-street, per Mr. Ginger | | 17 | 3 | 5 |
| Oxendon-street—Rev. Dr. Archer | | 27 | 13 | 11 |

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|-------------------------------|---------|-----|----|---|
| Paddington, Rev. J. Stratten— | | | | |
| Collection | | 67 | 8 | 3 |
| Rev. J. Stratten | | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| E. Sharp, Esq. | | 5 | 0 | 3 |
| J. Claydon, Esq. | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Salt | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Best | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| H. | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Rutty | | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Mr. and Mrs. Ferguson | | 2 | 9 | 0 |
| | | 107 | 13 | 3 |

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|---|---------|----|----|---|
| Park Chapel, Camden-town—Rev. J. C. Harrison— | | | | |
| Collection | | 33 | 17 | 0 |
| R. Cunliffe, Esq. | | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. E. Prout | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| H. B. Spalding, Esq. | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 64 | 17 | 0 |

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|-----------------------------------|---------|-----|----|---|
| Plaistow—Rev. J. Curwen | | 8 | 5 | 6 |
| Poplar—Rev. G. Smith | | 25 | 14 | 0 |
| Portland Chapel—Rev. G. Wilkins | | 29 | 13 | 0 |
| Poultry Chapel, Rev. S. B. Berge— | | | | |
| Collection | | 40 | 6 | 3 |
| Donations | | 325 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Radley, Esq. | | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. and Mrs. Johnson | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
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| Mrs. Goymer | | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 404 | 13 | 3 |

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|---------------------------------|---------|-----|----|---|
| Southgate-road—Rev. J. Spong | | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Spa-fields—Rev. T. E. Thorsby | | 7 | 15 | 0 |
| Stepney—Rev. J. Kennedy, A.M. | | 32 | 0 | 0 |
| Surrey Chapel, Rev. J. Sherman— | | | | |
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| Tabernacle—Rev. Dr. Campbell and Rev. J. Corbin | 25 12 3 |
| Trevor Chapel—Rev. Dr. Morison | |

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| Collection | 29 2 3 |
| Mr. Kadenmacher | 13 0 0 |
| Mr. Mitchell | 10 10 0 |
| Mr. Youngman | 10 10 0 |
| Mr. Bartlett | 5 5 0 |
| Mr. Epworth | 5 5 0 |
| Mrs. Rice | 5 0 0 |
| Mr. Scannell | 5 0 0 |
| Brompton Young Ladies' Working Society, per Misses Gray | 5 0 0 |
| Mr. Watts | 3 0 0 |
| Mr. A. Greig | 2 0 0 |
| Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Morison | 2 0 0 |
| A Swiss Lady, per ditto | 2 0 0 |
| Other sums | 10 15 0 |

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| Walthamstow, Rev. S. S. England— | |
| Collection | 15 0 0 |
| C. M. Robison, Esq. | 25 0 0 |
| Misses Hall | 10 10 0 |
| R. Cunliffe, jun., Esq. | 10 10 0 |

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| Wandsworth, Rev. G. P. Davies, B.A.— | |
| Collection | 15 8 8 |
| W. M. Newton, Esq. | 50 0 0 |

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| Wardour Chapel—Rev. J. E. Ashby | 65 8 8 |
| Well-street—Rev. R. Redpath, A.M. | 10 13 9 |
| Westminster Chapel—Rev. S. Martin | 14 2 5 |
| Woolwich Ebenezer Chapel—Rev. S. Hebditch | 45 11 0 |
| York-road—Rev. T. Davies | 12 18 3 |
| York-street Chapel, Waltham, Rev. G. Clayton and Rev. P. J. Turquand | 20 7 8 |
| Collection | 102 0 0 |
| E. Edwards, Esq. | 10 0 0 |

COUNTRY.

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| Abingdon—Rev. S. Lepine | 5 12 6 |
| Altrincham—A Friend | 1 0 0 |
| Amble—Rev. W. Knox | 1 0 0 |
| Armitage—Rev. W. Hood | 1 0 0 |
| Ashburton—Rev. N. Parkyn | 5 8 9 |
| Ashton-under-Lyne—Rev. J. G. Rogers, B.A. | 36 2 4 |
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| Avebury—per Mrs. Cornwall | 2 2 6 |
| Aylesbury—Rev. W. Gates | 4 8 0 |
| Banbury—Rev. J. Parker | 5 18 0 |
| Barnstable—Rev. W. Slater | 10 15 6 |
| Barton-on-Humber—Rev. E. Lewis, B.A. | 3 0 0 |
| Battlesbridge—per Mr. Bourmes | 2 8 0 |
| Beaconsfield—Rev. J. Harsant | 5 8 8 |
| Beccles—Rev. J. Flower | 6 9 0 |
| Blideford—Rev. J. Whiting | 2 5 0 |
| Bishop Auckland—Rev. J. Smith | 2 0 0 |
| Bolton, Duke's Alley—Rev. W. H. Davison | 9 12 0 |
| Boston, Grove-street—Rev. W. H. Holmes | 4 5 1 |
| Boxford—Rev. E. B. Hickman | 1 13 3 |
| Bradford, Wilts—Rev. W. Gear | 16 11 8 |
| Brackley and Charlton—Rev. T. Roberts | 1 8 8 |
| Braintree—Rev. J. Carter | 12 14 0 |
| Braunton—Rev. S. C. Kent | 2 0 0 |
| Bridport—Rev. J. K. Stallybrass | 10 0 0 |
| Bridgstock—Rev. T. Lord | 1 10 6 |
| Brierley-hill—Rev. D. Roebuck | 4 6 0 |
| Brigg—per Mr. Ball | 4 6 2 |
| Brighton, Union-street— | |
| Rev. J. N. Goulty | 22 0 0 |
| S. Portlock, Esq. | 5 0 0 |

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| Bristol—Highbury Chapel— | |
| Rev. D. Thomas, B.A. | 80 0 0 |
| Zion Chapel—Rev. G. Wood, B.A. | 11 3 0 |
| Wycliffe Chapel | 1 2 0 |
| Castle-green Chapel—Rev. J. Jack | 14 2 7 |

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| Bromley—Rev. G. Verrall | 106 7 7 |
| Bruton—Rev. W. Skinner | 4 0 0 |
| Buckingham—Rev. S. Bellamy | 4 4 6 |
| Burnley—Rev. J. Strayan | 3 5 7 |
| Canterbury—Rev. H. Cresswell | 8 14 6 |
| Caste Heddingham—Rev. S. Steer | 25 10 0 |
| Charnmouth—Rev. F. Smith | 10 17 0 |
| Chatham—Rev. P. Thomson | 1 0 0 |
| Chelmsford—Baddow-lane | 29 1 6 |
| Cheltenham—Rev. Dr. Brown | 5 3 0 |
| Chiddingley—Rev. J. Holt | 41 0 0 |
| Chinnor—Rev. J. Mason | 3 13 0 |
| Chippenham—Rev. B. Rees | 2 16 11 |
| Colchester—Rev. T. M. Davids | 4 4 0 |
| Corfe Castle—Rev. G. Hubbard | 21 0 0 |
| Coventry—Rev. J. Sibree | 1 12 0 |
| Craftfield—Rev. J. W. Wayne | 13 16 8 |
| Cuckfield—Rev. A. Foyster | 1 0 0 |
| Deddington—Rev. O. Parker | 4 14 7 |
| Denholm—Rev. J. McRobert | 1 17 6 |
| Derby—Rev. H. Ollard | 4 0 0 |
| Denton—Mr. J. Caborn | 11 10 0 |
| Devizes—Rev. W. Kingsland | 1 0 0 |
| Douglas—Rev. R. Chamberlain | 8 0 8 |
| Dunmow—Rev. R. Frost | 1 6 0 |
| Emsworth—Rev. E. Jeffery | 11 2 0 |
| Exeter—Rev. N. Hellings | 0 14 7 |
| Forest Gate—per Mr. J. Legg | 3 0 0 |
| Frome—Rev. E. Edwards | 12 6 6 |
| Gomersal—Rev. A. M'Millan | 2 3 0 |
| Gornal—Rev. S. M. Coombs | 6 0 0 |
| Grantham—Rev. E. Crisp | 7 1 7 |
| GraveSEND—Rev. J. Tippetts | 6 12 1 |
| Guildford—Rev. S. Percy | 26 15 6 |
| Halstead—Rev. J. Reynolds | 8 15 0 |
| Handsworth—Rev. J. Hammond | 10 7 6 |
| Harleston—Rev. S. Laidler | 5 5 0 |
| Haslingden—Rev. G. W. Clapham | 2 4 6 |
| Hatfield—Rev. J. Raban | 1 11 3 |
| Haydon Bridge—Rev. G. W. Swann | 2 7 0 |
| Henley—Rev. J. Rowland | 2 13 6 |
| High Wycombe—Rev. J. ayden | 15 8 5 |
| Holt—Rev. B. Willis | 4 10 4 |
| Honiton—Rev. J. Hoxley | 3 0 0 |
| Hopton—Rev. C. H. Bateman | 4 13 6 |
| | 5 11 1 |

COLLECTIONS—Continued.

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| Hull— | |
| Rev. T. Stratton | 29 12 0 |
| Rev. N. Hall | 26 18 3 |
| Rev. J. Sibree | 6 13 0 |

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| Intracombe—Rev. J. Averill | 63 3 3 |
| Kingston—Rev. L. H. Byrnes, B.A. | 15 3 0 |
| Kilguth | 4 0 0 |
| Leicester—Rev. Dr. Legge | 23 15 0 |
| Linlithgow—Rev. D. Webster | 3 2 0 |
| Little Waltham—Rev. J. Hicks | 0 17 8 |
| Liverpool—Rev. J. Kelly | 91 0 8 |
| Llanfyllin—Rev. D. Morgan | 3 10 0 |
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| Malmesbury, Ebenezer Chapel—Rev. I. Hanks | 5 0 0 |
| Market Weighton—Rev. F. G. W. Cox | 4 16 0 |
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| Newport, Isle of Wight—Rev. E. Giles | 10 15 0 |
| Newport Pagnell—Rev. J. Bull | 13 8 10 |
| Northampton—Rev. E. T. Prust— | |
| Collection | 12 2 6 |
| Rev. E. T. Prust | 50 0 0 |

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| Northfleet—Rev. T. B. Butcher | 62 2 6 |
| Nottingham—Rev. E. Vincent | 5 5 0 |
| Oakham—Rev. T. Blandford—Collection. | 114 0 2 |
| G. Finch, Esq. | 3 1 6 |
| | 10 0 0 |

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| Parkhead—Rev. J. Redmayne | 6 0 0 |
| Paisley—Rev. W. Nisbett | 3 0 0 |
| Penrith—Rev. W. Brewis | 6 13 6 |
| Peterborough— | 10 17 0 |
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| Poyle—Rev. L. Hall | 13 3 4 |
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| Riggfoot—Mr. W. Haddow | 2 0 9 |
| Romford—Rev. C. Latham | 2 0 0 |
| Rotherham—Mashborough Chapel— | |
| Rev. A. Raleigh | 3 2 4 |
| Greasbrough Chapel | 20 1 6 |
| | 1 6 0 |

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| Royston—John Street—Rev. W. G. Barrett | 21 7 6 |
| Ryde—Rev. Dr. Ferguson | 8 7 4 |
| Salisbury— | 12 6 0 |
| J. C. Wheeler, Esq. | 10 0 0 |
| C. Payne, Esq. | 5 0 0 |

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| Sawston—Rev. R. Davies | 15 0 0 |
| Shaftesbury—Rev. T. Evans | 6 16 7 |
| Sheffield— | 3 17 4 |
| Rev. D. Loxton | 8 0 6 |
| Rev. J. J. Shrubsole | 29 0 0 |
| Rev. J. Reunle, M.A. | 3 7 1 |
| Wickham Chapel | 66 1 6 |
| Rev. H. Batchelor | 3 0 4 |
| Rev. J. Earnshaw | 6 2 0 |

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| Shepton Mallet—Rev. J. Young | 1 1 0 |
| Skipton—Rev. R. Gibbs | 3 0 0 |
| Smith—Mr. W. Groves | 38 2 6 |
| Somerton—Rev. R. Taylor | 5 10 0 |
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| Sunderland—Rev. R. W. McCall | 2 16 2 |
| Swanage | |
| Swanland | |
| Swinden—Rev. G. Pilgrim | |
| Taunton— | |
| Rev. H. Quick | 44 11 3 |
| A Friend | 5 0 0 |

| | |
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| Thames Ditton—Rev. E. Pay | 49 11 3 |
| Thatcham—Rev. E. White | 1 7 0 |
| Tintwistle—Rev. R. G. Milne | 2 0 0 |
| Tisbury—per Rev. T. Mann | 9 3 0 |
| Totton | 3 11 0 |
| Trowbridge—Rev. T. Mann— | |
| Collection | 5 0 0 |
| Rev. T. Mann | 10 16 0 |
| Mr. Haden | 5 0 0 |
| Mr. G. N. Haden | 5 0 0 |
| Mrs. Brown | 5 0 0 |
| Juvenile Sewing Party | 4 4 0 |

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| Truro—Rev. R. Panks | 35 0 0 |
| Ulverston—Rev. J. Browne, B.A. | 8 15 8 |
| Uxbridge—Rev. J. Glendinning | 3 10 0 |
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|--------------------------------|----------|
| Worsop—per Mr. T. J. Pearson | £ 5 10 0 |
| Wootton Bassett—Rev. M. Thomas | 5 10 0 |
| Worthing | 4 18 4 |
| Wrentham—Rev. J. Brown, B.A. | 3 4 9 |
| Small Sums | 1 4 2 |

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| * Deduct sums entered in former list | £3,028 11 10 |
| | £7,267 8 10 |

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The necessity of this movement is shown by the many applications for aid which have been made to the Committee since the formation of the Society.

Contributions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, Hon. Secretaries, and any member of the Committee: by Messrs. Nisbet, Berners-street; Hatchard, Piccadilly; Seeley, Fleet-street and Hanover-street; the Bankers; and by the Secretary, Mr. William A. Blake, at the Office of the Society, 15, Exeter-hall, Strand.

The following contributions of £5 and upwards are thankfully acknowledged:—

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.—Jubilee Year, 1853-4.

JUBILEE FUND.

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The names of contributors are published monthly in the "Jubilee Record" and "Monthly Extracts."
NOTICE.—The Friends of the Society are respectfully requested to remit, as far as practicable, their Contributions for the JUBILEE FUND, not later than the 28th inst.

N.B. It is desirable that Contributions for the JUBILEE FUND, and for the CHINESE NEW TESTAMENT FUND, should be remitted distinctly from the ordinary Contributions of the Society; and when Remittances are made to the Society's Bankers, Messrs. Williams, Deacon, and Co., immediate advice to Mr. William Hitchin, the Accountant, will greatly oblige.

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"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XVI.—NEW SERIES, No. 434.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1854.

[Price, with Supplement, 6d.]

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ECCLIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

PROOFS AND HOPES OF BETTER THINGS TO COME.

OUR readers will have learned from our last number, and, we doubt not, with gratification, that henceforth, questions which are brought under the notice of the House of Commons, affecting religious liberty, especially as touching the rights of Protestant Dissenters, are likely to receive a more concerted consideration than has been the case heretofore. A simple, informal, but adequate Committee, has been constituted of those members of the House who either hold, or sympathise with, the principles of ecclesiastical equality, with whom two or three gentlemen, representatives of different sections of Dissent, out of doors, have been associated—and pending matters of importance have already come under their consideration. The existence and action of such a Committee, meeting, as it does, for conference weekly, may be reasonably regarded as a pledge that opposition to State-Church encroachments, and effort to widen the boundaries of religious freedom, will not be left, as formerly, to the separate care of individual zeal—that what is done or attempted in this direction, will now be done after mutual consultation and agreement—that Parliamentary movement towards more advanced ecclesiastical positions will be characterised by greater unity of plan, and will, consequently, exhibit more decided indications of power—and that, to some extent, and on many questions, Dissenters will reap all the advantages which can be secured to them by the aid of a small but compact Parliamentary party.

The organization of this Committee is timely as well as politic. Several questions will present themselves for settlement during the present session, upon which the decision of her Majesty's Ministers may be shaped by combined and judicious pressure. The abolition of Church-rates, free admission to study and graduation at the Universities, the extinction of Ministers' Money in Ireland, and of the Edinburgh and Canongate Annuity-tax in Scotland, the prevention of Church jobbing, and the general enforcement of more enlightened views in relation to ecclesiastical legislation, will derive from the action of this Committee an accession of support which could not otherwise have been counted on. Much of the scrub and brushwood which environs the Church Establishment, and which constitutes a part, both of its reproach and defence, may thus be gradually cleared away—and the question between Voluntaryism and State endowments, as the means of maintaining religious institutions, be proportionably simplified. That truth and justice will be gainers by this line of policy, we entertain no shadow of doubt—and we can only express our hope that the Committee will hold together, and hold on, so long as there are questions to adjust in which its agency will be effective.

One of the questions to which we have above adverted, was to have been brought forward last night by Mr. Fagan, member for Cork. Pains had been taken, and especially by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Society for the Liberation

of Religion, to secure a full attendance of members desirous of the abolition of Minister's money in Ireland—a species of Church-rate levied in eight cities for the maintenance of clergymen of the Protestant Church Establishment. The motion, if made, would have presented a fair opportunity for the united action of Liberal Churchmen, Protestants Dissenters, and Roman Catholics, and might possibly have laid the basis for more systematic co-operation hereafter. Unfortunately, the length to which the discussion on the Manchester and Salford Education Bill extended, precluded the possibility of introducing Mr. Fagan's measure, and hence it stands over to a future occasion. We avail ourselves, therefore, of the interval, to throw out one or two thoughts worthy the consideration, we think, of her Majesty's Ministers, not alone in reference to this topic, but to several others which will probably come before Parliament during the present Session.

Of course, it cannot be reasonably anticipated that her Majesty's Ministers, in the present state of public opinion, should make a surrender of the principle of Church Establishments. This, at present is not demanded. So advanced a result must be worked for with far more zeal and perseverance than has been hitherto generally exhibited. The public needs enlightenment, stimulus, and organization on this important question, and we have no right to expect that the Government should venture ahead of the community on so momentous a subject. But there are several outlying questions, of which Ministers' Money in Ireland, Church-rates in England and Wales, and the Annuity-tax in Scotland, may be taken as fair specimens, which constitute grotesque, unseemly, and highly offensive forms, of the State Church principle, odious, not merely to Dissenters, but to Churchmen themselves. Why should they be retained? They can be given up without betrayal of the principle of national endowments for the maintenance of religious institutions. The Ministry could make a very politic concession to public opinion were they to determine that the property of the Church should bear all the charges of the Church, and that no taxes should be levied in future in aid of any form of religious belief. No one would contend that it is necessary to the existence or stability of national establishments of religion, that an impost should be exacted from the inhabitants of eight cities in Ireland, and two in Scotland, for the Protestant clergy, Episcopal and Presbyterian, of those particular places, or from the parishioners of the majority of English parishes, for the repair of the church fabric, and the expenses incident to divine worship. There are funds within the control of the Churches out of which these charges may well be met—and the Government might properly determine that a principle, good in their judgment, unsound in ours, shall not be henceforth exhibited in its most exceptional, irritating, and unjustifiable form.

They themselves have recognised the evil of which we complain in all these cases, by introducing in past times measures of alleviation. They ought, however, to have learnt by now, that whilst on questions of general policy some compromise of opinions is admissible, yet on all matters deriving their importance from religious conviction, it is necessary to refuse any concession, or to make that concession complete. A middle course on religious questions is palatable to none. All are offended—none are satisfied. The ill-will of both contending parties is provoked—and instead of settlement and peace, there is nothing but the stirring up of increased discord. We submit, therefore, that on the class of subjects above adverted to, her Majesty's Ministers had better decline to move at all, than attempt to move but half way towards the end desired of them. Undecided measures equally offend their opponents, and disgust their friends.

Lastly, we would respectfully remind them that at a time like this, when external peril renders necessary the knitting together in harmony of the sympathies of all classes, it would be highly politic and wise to remove all those causes of heart-burning which, if they do not diminish loyalty, tend to

make the manifestation of it less satisfactory and hearty than it would be if not crossed. Neither Protestant Dissenters nor Roman Catholics are likely to shrink from those burdens and sacrifices which a formidable war will entail on them in common with their fellow-subjects. But it stands to reason, that they would bear up much more cheerfully under these impositions, if they were relieved at once from galling ecclesiastical exactions. The unfair tax will be felt to be doubly unfair, when it comes upon the back of heavy responsibilities to which no objection will be taken—and irritation which begins at a small puncture, may, under extraordinary pressure, extend itself. It is very unwise to subject to petty torments those whom you call to serious sacrifices.

Whether such considerations as these will have weight with her Majesty's Ministers we know not. But we rejoice that they will now be backed by an influential section of the Government supporters. We congratulate our readers on this fact. Reason and justice will not fare the worse by being attended by an organised body of retainers. Henceforth, we trust and believe, our onward progress will be marked and decisive.

THE LAW OF OATHS.

The question of oath-taking has become a prominent topic of discussion. In the first place, there is Lord John Russell's bill in the House of Commons for abolishing the absurd oath now taken by members, and substituting an oath of allegiance to the Crown, containing no reference to religious opinions or institutions. It will also have been noticed that Government last week promised to carry out the suggestions of the Common Law Commissioners, that persons who object to take an oath may make an affirmation instead. Our last number mentioned the escape of a thief from merited punishment, in consequence of the prosecutor having conscientious objections to take an oath. It appears that a man had stolen a book from the shop of Mr. Truelove, a bookseller in the Strand. The theft was owned by the prisoner himself, but on being put on his oath, Mr. Truelove stated that he must decline, offering to make an affirmation instead. He professed to be of no religion, but remarked that immediately prior to his own case a prostitute had been sworn, and had obtained the legal redress she sought, and he thought his word was as good as her oath. Mr. Jardine, the acting magistrate, said there was no remedy—the law required an oath, except in cases where religious feeling interfered—and as he (the prosecutor) disclaimed religious feeling, he could not accept his offered substitute. The case was therefore dismissed. Another still more flagrant case was brought under the notice of the House of Commons a few days since by Mr. Bright. Mr. Richard Alexander, a respectable citizen of Edinburgh, was some time since sentenced by the sheriff to six weeks' imprisonment, like a common felon, and compelled to associate with the worst of criminals, for refusing to take an oath in a court of justice. The sentence was carried into effect in spite of the efforts of his friends to obtain a commutation of the sentence through Lord Palmerston, who replied by promising "to look into the papers, to see if there were any grounds why the period of imprisonment awarded should be shortened." The Home Secretary here let the matter drop, and Mr. Alexander spent six weeks in the common gaol. The term having expired, he has just been released, and many of the friends of liberty of conscience in Edinburgh held a public meeting last week, at the Calton Rooms, to testify their sympathy for him. A. M. Bell, Esq., occupied the chair, and amongst the speakers were the Rev. Dr. Ritchie, Rev. W. Moncreiff, Rev. F. Johnston, Mr. Wigham, &c. Several resolutions were proposed and adopted, expressive of the meeting's sympathy with Mr. Alexander, as also for the purpose of forming into a body those favourable to the views which had been expressed, to be called the "Anti-Oath Association." In his opening speech the chair-

man, in reference to the rooms in which they were assembled, and the gaol opposite, said:—

No place could have been more appropriate in situation (however inadequate in size, as I rejoice to find it has proved), than the hall in which we are now assembled. (Cheers.) Fronting the gloomy walls within which the sorrows of the prisoner were sighed, we administer our consolations to the freeman, whom with our hearts we welcome back to liberty. (Cheers.) Differ from him as we may in our interpretation of the Scripture command, 'Swear not at all,' we shall join in perfect unity with him and all non-jurors in vindication of the great and fundamental truth that conscience is beyond the jurisdiction of man, and in assertion of the sentiment that—

Whatever creed be taught, or land be trod,
Man's conscience is the oracle of God.

(Great Cheering.)

We trust Mr. Alexander is the last martyr to this mischievous and unjust law. His high-minded conscientiousness will be honoured beyond the city of Edinburgh, and the expression of sympathy so fitly made at the above meeting will find a response south, as well as north of the Tweed. Every friend of religious freedom will rejoice in the prospect of such events becoming a tale of bye-gone days, and will be disposed to stimulate our Government to fulfil their intention of at once giving practical effect to their promise. The shortest and most effectual means of meeting the difficulty would be the total abolition of oaths. If, however, a permissive bill, allowing the substitution of affirmations for oaths is passed, it is quite possible the public may accomplish the work themselves.

THE CLERGY RESERVES, CANADA.

The Executive of the Liberation of Religion Society have received information of a kind calculated to excite fears that the hopes indulged in on the passing of the Clergy Reserves Bill of last session will not be realized, and strikingly illustrating the tenacious vitality of State-churchism. "After the agony and bloodshed which has marked the warfare of the last thirty years," it was supposed, that so soon as the Canadian legislature was invested with the power of dealing with the reserves, the known wishes of the people would be met by the introduction of a bill for their secularisation. Not a doubt existed at the close of its last session that such a bill would be the great measure which the administration would bring forward on its re-assembling—an impression which was strengthened by the declarations made by members of the ministry at entertainments given to them in the recess.

Now, however, Mr. Hincks and his colleagues announce their intention to dissolve Parliament, and appeal to the people on the question, avowedly on the ground of the Acts lately passed for the reform of the representation; but, as is believed, really that there may be an opportunity for a last and desperate attempt to perpetuate the Reserves by a new division of them among all sects that choose to participate!

The High Church party in the colony have long sought this as regards the Protestants, but finding them generally deaf to their appeals, they are doing just what Sir John Pakington did in the British House of Commons—calling the Roman Catholic party to the rescue.

The Romanist priesthood are thought to be, to a man, favourable to the proposal; "and while the Government profess to desire secularization, it is well known that all their plans are laid to secure, if possible, such a return at the general election as will favour a subdivision." This will, of course, place the voluntaries in a worse position than now, as it will make Romanism one of the chief pensioners upon the reserve fund, and will corrupt Protestant churches as yet comparatively free from the evil.

"The influence of the hierarchy in England," says the Committee's correspondent, "is no doubt being used through the Colonial Office and our Governor-General, or the Executive Council, and, through its members, upon the country and Parliament"—a supposition which is countenanced by the fact that the Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are stipendiaries on the reserve fund, and that its Committee exerted themselves to the utmost, last session, to prevent the passing of the Government bill.

The local legislature meets this month, when, to save appearances, a bill for secularization will be brought forward; and then, having made their arrangements for their ulterior purpose, the Government will adjourn matters to the hustings. The *Toronto Examiner*, which has bravely battled for the voluntaries, writes with great bitterness on this state of things:—"The country has before it, in our opinion, the prospect of a most exasperating and disheartening conflict upon this question, under the most unfavourable circumstances, which may result in a most humiliating defeat—a defeat not from any change in public sentiment (for we believe it to be stronger now in favour of secularization than

before), but through the villany and treachery of the Upper Canada members of the Administration. A change in the ministerial policy is perhaps now hopeless, and the friends of Religious Liberty have no alternative but to prepare for the contest which is approaching, and to mark their abhorrence of the treachery of their leaders, by driving every one of them ignominiously from power."

CHURCH RATE CONTESTS AT DERBY.

In two of the parishes, viz., St. Peter's and St. Alkmund's, very large meetings were convened on Thursday last, to decide the question of church rates.

The churchwardens of St. Peter's called a meeting for the imposition of a rate on the 12th of January, when the motion for a penny rate was opposed by the Rev. W. Underwood, and negatived by a large majority. Mr. Underwood then proposed that a voluntary subscription should be opened to meet the necessary expenses of the church; but this was refused by the churchwardens (both of whom are Dissenters), and a poll was demanded. The time and place for polling were fixed; but, on the arrival of the day, the poll was declined by the pro-rate party, owing, it was alleged, to some informality in the presentation of the accounts.

On Thursday last, however, another meeting was held in the parish church, the body of which was nearly filled—the Rev. Mr. Hope, vicar, in the chair. Mr. Gascoine, one of the churchwardens, also a leading man at the Congregational Chapel, London-road, explained the position in which he was placed, and acknowledged it to be a somewhat anomalous one. He also made a minute statement of the sums required for repairs, and for conducting the service, and then proposed a rate of one penny in the pound to meet the expense. Mr. Gascoine, in the course of his speech, made personal reference to the Rev. W. Underwood, as having, at the last meeting, spoken against the rate, and helped to place him and his colleague in the painful position in which they then stood. His motion for a rate having been seconded by the other churchwarden—who also avowed himself a Dissenter—the Rev. W. Underwood said he had no alternative but to rise and vindicate himself against the imputations cast on him personally by Mr. Gascoine. After rebutting the charge of his conduct being unmanly, unEnglish, and un-Christian, Mr. Underwood continued:—"You are asked to allow this rate to be made, on the plea that it may be the last that will be proposed, as Lord Palmerston has announced a ministerial measure on the subject of church rates. But are you sure that that forthcoming measure will be precisely the thing you will approve and accept? If it does not relieve the Dissenters altogether from the impost, and throw the onus of supporting the Church of England wholly on her professed members, it will share the fate of all its predecessors—the country will not have it. The churchwarden has frankly admitted that, being a Dissenter, he is in an anomalous position in proposing a compulsory rate. (Laughter.) Will you, fellow-Dissenters, make yourselves nearly as ridiculous by assenting to his proposition? ("No.") Certainly not; for a church-rate-supporting Dissenter is one of the greatest of human incomprehensibilities. (Loud applause.) Not wishing to occupy time by adducing arguments against the motion of the churchwardens, I conclude by submitting a counter proposition as an amendment. It is in these words:—"That all compulsory payments for the support of the religious worship of any sect are contrary to the spirit and letter of Christianity; and that this vestry feels bound, by the obligations of religious principle and social justice, to refuse to make the rate proposed, and does therefore refuse to make it."

This amendment being seconded by Mr. Furniss, the Vicar very courteously requested it to be sent up to the chair; and, after being copied by the clerk, it was put to the meeting, and carried by an immense majority. One or two gentlemen instantly offered £5 each toward a voluntary rate; but their overtures were declined, and another poll demanded and fixed for Monday and Tuesday, the 20th and 21st. We learn by telegraph that the rate has been refused by a majority of 248 votes.

In St. Alkmund's parish a much wiser course was pursued by the unanimous adoption of the following resolution, signed by the vicar, the Rev. E. H. Abney, and circulated throughout the town by printed handbills:—"That the churchwardens be respectfully requested to solicit contributions to defray their liabilities for the present year, and that a subscription list be now opened for that purpose; and that no further attempt be made by the present churchwardens to levy any church-rate for the current year; and that this meeting pledges itself to carry out the spirit of this resolution."

At Crich, a large village in the county of Derby, a church rate of one penny in the pound was proposed and seconded, on the 8th instant; but, on being put to the meeting, only one hand was held up in its favour. The rate was therefore lost.

MINISTERS' MONEY (IRELAND).

The following statement, in support of Mr. Fagan's motion, on Tuesday night, was circulated among the Liberal members by the committee of the Liberation of Religion Society:—"Ministers' Money is a tax of 1s. in the pound sterling, levied in Ireland (under 17 and 18 Car. II., c. 7), for the benefit of the Protestant incumbents. It may be described as an Irish church-rate, but with worse features. The vestries have no power over it, and the Protestant portion of Ireland is pointedly exempted; the province of Ulster not being charged at all, and houses elsewhere rated at above £60 a year not being charged on the higher value. Its amount is only £15,000 a year.

"The select committee of 1848 recommended its abolition, considering its commutation or redemption as

impracticable, and that 'a charge on the Consolidated Fund would be repudiated by the people of England,' and proposed, as a substitute the fund administered by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland [1848, No. 559]. They supported this recommendation by the authority of the Protestant Dean of Limerick; but it was objected to in other quarters, on the ground that the resources of the commission were already fully engaged.

"There was at that time a charge upon the fund of £40,000, the balance of a Government loan of £100,000, £60,000 of which had been discharged out of the capital of the fund. Leaving this sum out of the question, the committee reported, that the 'existing income of the commissioners is adequate to their actual expenditure,' and that 'the increase of the funds will be considerable.' The income then stood at £71,574. It has since progressively increased as under:—

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|
| " Year ending Aug. 1, 1851, No. 23, 1852, 111,736 | 3 | 11 | |
| " " " 1852, " 3, 1853, 122,372 | 0 | 0 | |
| " " " 1853, " 31, 1854, 148,959 | 3 | 1 | |

"Out of which income the commissioners have paid off the balance of the Government loan, and been able to undertake works, from which (they state in their last report, No. 51, 1853,) they expect to be able to put a limit to their hitherto large annual outlay under the head of repairs.

"Mr. Fagan's motion simply proposes to carry out the recommendations of the committee of 1848."

ARE RAILWAY COMPANIES TO BECOME CHURCH-EXTENSION SCHEMES?

In the report of the directors of the Great Northern Railway Company, to be submitted to the proprietors on Saturday next, it is announced that a vote of £8,000 of the funds of the company will be proposed for the purposes of building a church and school-rooms connected therewith, for the religious instruction of persons in their service at Doncaster; also, £430 per annum for endowing clergyman and schoolmaster, &c. The items are given thus:—

| | |
|----------------------------------|------|
| £8,000, at four per cent. .. | £320 |
| Clergyman and house .. | 200 |
| Schoolmaster, mistress, &c. .. | 150 |
| Books, junior assistants, &c. .. | 80 |

Charge on the company's fund .. £750 per ann.

The chairman, Mr. Denison, M.P., states his confidence that the proprietors will cheerfully sanction the vote for so important and invaluable an object. There are two points for the consideration of the shareholders; viz., pecuniary expediency and religious principle. The first applies to all the original shareholders whose monies (constructed the line. They have for the last three years received rather less than 2½ per cent. per annum for their capital, and are now asked cheerfully to debit themselves with £8,000 as a permanent charge of 4 per cent., for purposes foreign to the object for which they purchased their shares. Is this reasonable or equitable? The second aspect has more especial reference to Nonconformist proprietors. They are now asked to contribute in a new form to the support of the Establishment, of which they conscientiously disapprove, and not merely to vote a sum earned during the half-year for religious instruction, but permanently to constitute the company an endower of the Church Establishment, and thus to make not only every present, but every future holder of stock, in some sort a Church of England extensionist. Adopt the principle of church-building and of giving what Mr. Denison calls "reasonable settled provision" to clergymen from railway property, and who does not see that zealous men will find the same necessity existing at Peterborough, Newark, or Lincoln, that the chairman finds at Doncaster? The proposal is an absolute misappropriation of the property, fraught with injustice to Dissenting shareholders, and dangerous as a commercial precedent.—*Patriot*.

CHURCH-RATE SEIZURE AT IPSWICH.—Notwithstanding public opinion is rapidly progressing in the right direction on this long-vexed subject, we are informed that the officials of St. Mary Key, in this town, have, within the last few days, carried out the old system under peculiar circumstances. It is said that two constables entered the house of a lady in that parish with an execution upon her goods for upwards of two pounds, said to be due for church-rates, and an additional sum for expenses. It is reported that one of the constables said, on this occasion, he could not take furniture because no broker in Ipswich would purchase goods seized for Church-rates. He then proceeded to take plate, and observed that he knew of but one silversmith in the town who would purchase it. The seizure was made, and the following articles taken:—A silver mug, two silver table-spoons, six silver tea-spoons, and four salt-cellars. After these had been taken away, the constables returned, and stated that they had not taken enough; they, therefore, made a second seizure, and took a silver butter-knife and a pair of silver sugar-tongs; all these articles of plate having been in the family for some time.—Another case of a similar kind has just reached our ears. We understand that a widow in the same parish, who has recently become an inhabitant, has been distrained, and that the constables, after waiting for several hours, to the annoyance of the unprotected lady and her female servants, left the house, and proceeded to a flour seller's, where they understood that a sack of flour was ordered; upon their arrival they seized the flour, took as much as the rate and expenses came to, and left the remainder for the lady who had purchased the whole.—*Ipswich Express*.

ECCLESIASTICAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST ARCHDEACON DENISON.—The *Somerset County Gazette* states that a fund is now being raised to indemnify the Bishop of Bath and Wells in the proceedings about to be instituted by his lordship against Archdeacon Denison; it

already amounts to about £500. It is therefore confidently expected that the means required for correcting by ecclesiastical censures the dangerous and heretical views propounded by the archdeacon on the Lord's Supper will be very soon realised. Until these preliminaries are guaranteed, the bishop will not move in the matter. In the mean time it is rumoured that the archdeacon, alarmed at his position, is on the point of evading the probable issue of an inquiry by joining the church of Rome.

THE MINOR CANONS OF ST. PAUL'S.—The Bishop of London issued a judgment on Friday, in the case of the Minor Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral, argued before him in January last. He requires the Dean and Chapter to prepare a plan for the disposal of the benefices in their gift or patronage, according to the provisions contained in the 47th section of the 3rd and 4th Victoria.

Religious and Educational Intelligence.

The Rev. R. STEPHENS, late of Todmorden, has accepted the invitation of the church and congregation worshipping in the Congregational Church, East Retford, Nottinghamshire, and commenced his stated ministry on the second Sabbath of February.

The Rev. W. LAWSON BROWN, M.A., Bolton, has accepted an unanimous and cordial invitation to become pastor of the church and congregation in New Conduit-street Chapel, Lynn, Norfolk, and intends commencing his stated labours there on the fourth Sabbath in March.

BARBICAN CHAPEL.—Mr. Charles Green, of New College, has accepted the unanimous and cordial invitation of the Congregational Church assembling in Barbican Chapel to become its pastor. Mr. Green's ordination is appointed to take place on Thursday, the 30th of March, preparatory to his entering on his pastoral labours on the first Sabbath in April.

ULVERSTON, LANCASHIRE.—On Wednesday, Dec. 14, 1853, the Rev. James Browne, B.A., late of Homerton College, and some time minister at Debenham, in Suffolk, was ordained to the pastorate over the Congregational Church at Ulverston. The services were commenced by the Rev. J. J. Steinitz, of Artillery-street, London, who read the scriptures and prayed; the Rev. John Browne, B.A., of Wrentham, Suffolk, stated the nature of a Christian church; the Rev. Robert Best, of Bolton, received the confession of faith and offered the ordination prayer; the Rev. James Browne, of North Walsham, Norfolk, gave the charge to his son. In the evening, the Rev. T. Raffles, D.D., LL.D., &c., of Liverpool, preached to the church and congregation. The Revs. T. Taylor, of Tottlebank, and — Frearson, of Coniston, Baptists; G. Patterson and R. Chawner, of Ulverston, Wesleyans, were present, and took part in the engagements of that day, and also of the Friday evening following, when a social tea-meeting was held; after which several addresses were delivered on matters of general and local interest.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

PETITIONS PRESENTED.

Borough and County Police, against consolidation of, 10.
County Courts Act, for amendment of, 1.
Jews, against admission to Parliament, 1.
Reformatory Institutions, in favour of, 14.
Licensing System, for amendment of, 1.
Medical Officers (Navy), for improvement, 12.
Ministers' Money (Ireland), for abolition of, 2.
Ocean Penny Postage, in favour of, 5.
Paper Duty, for repeal of, 28.
Public Houses, for closing on Sunday, 19.
Religious Persecution, against, 1.
Wine Duty, for repeal of, 4.
Education (Scotland), for a general system, 8.
against, 1.
Romish Priests as Chaplains in gaols, against, 9.
Public Houses (Scotland) Act, for repeal of, 1.
Decimal Coinage, in favour of, 7.
Fire Insurances, for reduction of Duty, 3.
Newspaper Stamp, for abolition of, 1.
Welsh Bishops, against appointment of persons not speaking Welsh, 1.
Working Classes, for laws to benefit, 1.
Coasting Trade Bill, in favour of, 1.
Poor Law (Ireland), for amendment, 1.
Settlement and Removal, for alteration of law, 1.
Stage Carriages Duty, for repeal of, 1.
Universal Suffrage, for adoption of, 1.

COMMITTEES APPOINTED.

Select committee for inquiring into the charges against some Irish members, as contained in the *Times* newspaper:—Mr. Butt, Chairman, Sir John Young, the Solicitor-General for Ireland, Lord Hotham, Mr. John O'Connell, Mr. Bright, Mr. George Moore, Mr. Henry Thomas Liddell, Mr. Ker Seymour, Mr. Macartney, Mr. Muntz, Mr. George Bentinck, and Mr. Napier.
Select committee to examine into the system under which public-houses, hotels, beer-shops, dancing-saloons, coffee-houses, theatres, temperance-hotels, and places of public entertainment, by whatever name they may be called, are sanctioned, and now regulated, with a view of reporting to this House whether any alteration or amendment of the law can be made for the better preservation of public morals, the protection of the revenue, and for proper accommodation of the public:—Mr. W. Brown, the Judge Advocate, Sir G. Goodman, Sir G. Grey, the Earl of March, Sir J. Pakington, Mr. Beckett, Mr. Barrow, Mr. Gregson, Lord D. Stuart, Lord E. Bruce, Mr. Packer, Mr. Sotherton, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. K. Seymour.
"To inquire into the causes of the numerous accidents in Coal Mines, with a view of suggesting the best means for their prevention:—Mr. Hutchins, Mr. Cayley, Mr. Stephenson, Mr. Ingham, Mr. Cumming Bruce, Mr. Hussey Vivian, Mr. Henry Austin Bruce, Mr. Mostyn, Mr. Locke, Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Farrer, Mr. Baird, Mr. Fitzroy, Colonel Pennant, and Mr. Child.
Committee on the Portuguese Claims:—Mr. Thomas Chambers, Mr. Horsfall, Mr. William Brown, Mr. Strutt, the Judge Advocate, Mr. Henry Austin Bruce, Mr. Thomas Greene, Viscount Goderich, Sir Francis Baring, Sir James Duke, Mr. George Butt, Mr. Kinnaird, Mr. James MacGregor, Mr. Spooner, and Mr. Dunlop.

BILLS PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.

Public Prosecutors' Bill (Mr. Phillimore).
Succession of Real Estate Bill (Mr. Locke King).
Property Qualification Bill (Mr. Tufnell).

DEBATES.

TESTAMENTARY JURISDICTION.

In the House of Lords on Thursday, the Lord Chancellor brought in a bill on the above subject. Entering into an elaborate survey of the well-known evils of the present system, which have been admitted by successive Governments for more than twenty years, he pointed out the multitude of distinct tribunals, 386, which multiply appeals and produce uncertainty of jurisdiction; the distinction between the treatment of real and of personal estate, cognizable in separate courts; the difficulty of preserving original wills, in consequence of their dispersion, &c. He also gave a history of the attempts at legislating on the subject, and recited the recommendations of the various commissions of inquiry. The remedy he proposed for these evils is to vest the whole contentious jurisdiction in the Court of Chancery; but that court will not have anything to do with the common form or non-contentious business, constituting ninety-nine hundredths of the whole. The present amount of testamentary business in the Ecclesiastical Courts does not occupy more than sixty days. As there are four judges of original jurisdiction in the Court of Chancery, this sixty days' business will give each fifteen days' extra work. The authenticity of a will, or its validity, would be more correctly decided by a judge who deals with a wider range of subjects than by one who never had any other subject brought before him. Therefore a new Court of Probate, as recommended by the Commissioners, is not needed. He would transfer to the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery all the staff of the Ecclesiastical Courts as it now exists, and constitute one principal registrar to transact all the common form business. As to the proctors, who are only eighty in number, he proposed to continue them in the common form business exclusively, for a limited time; after which, solicitors should be allowed to practise as well as proctors, and thus the former would no doubt become familiar with the business. That is not an essential part of the scheme, but he thought it desirable ultimately to get rid of double agency. He proposed to allow probate in the country under £1,500; and for that purpose would divide the country into districts, conferring on these courts all business of a non-contentious nature. But to give full security, every probate should have the seal affixed to it in London. As people do not like to see probates in copies, he would allow the original will to remain in the country for six months, and after that time it should be transmitted to London, where there would be one registry of wills with proper indices. Finally, he would extend testamentary jurisdiction to all property, real or personal.

The bill having been laid on the table, Lord Brougham briefly expressed his approval of the principle of the bill. He suggested the propriety of transferring from the Ecclesiastical Courts to some other jurisdiction the cognizance of the offences of slander and defamation, brawling and smiting in churches, and various other offences of a similar description; and asked whether the optional power suggested to be given to the Court of Probate in 1832 and 1835, of either trying issues itself or sending them for trial to a court of common law, might not now be given, under the proposed bill, to the Court of Chancery? Lord St. Leonards and Lord Campbell also expressed their concurrence in the measure. Lord St. Leonards said that when he came down to the House, he was afraid he should be opposed to the Lord Chancellor; and it was with much satisfaction, therefore, that he could agree with a great part of what had fallen from him. His objection was to the proposal that real property should be subjected to probate.

The bill was read a first time.

BRIBERY AND INTIMIDATION.

Sir FITZROY KELLY on Thursday moved for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the practice at the election of members to serve in Parliament for counties, cities, and boroughs in England and Wales; to prevent bribery, corruption, intimidation, and undue influence at such elections; and to diminish the expense thereof. Before he explained the provisions of his bill, he described the mode in which corruption is practised. A candidate asks what will be the expense of his election; he is told, say, £1,000; he advances the money, expressing his firm determination to avoid bribery. He goes to the borough, and within twenty-four hours two-thirds of that sum is spent in corrupt practices of which he is ignorant. He is elected; and then perhaps the heads of his party wait upon him, and tell him £1,000 more has been expended in his cause; hinting that he had better not look into particulars. He pays the money, as a debt of honour. How is that great evil to be remedied? Sir Fitzroy proposes that an election-officer, a lawyer from the same class as the revising barristers, selected by the judges, should be appointed, and have the sole management and control of the expenses of the election. At the nomination, the candidates should make over to this officer all the monies necessary to pay legal expenses, and should swear that they had not paid and would not in future pay any election expenses except through him. The candidates should take the oath, whether there was a contest or not. It would result from this, that money expended in corruption must come from some other source, and thus bribery would soon wear itself out. To meet the case of persons acting as the agents of corruption independently of candidates, he proposed that the candidates should declare the names of their election-agents; and that any person in or about the borough suspected of having resorted to illegal practices should be called upon to take the agent's oath. There were also clauses in the bill prohibiting the employment of flagmen, bands, and chairings. With respect to intimidation, he proposed that votes in England and Wales should be taken by means of voting-papers, with ample security against fabrication, muti-

lation, or fraud. This would do away with corruption, by means of travelling expenses, enable the sick man to vote in his own room, and protect the voter. His plan was this:—The signing of the voting-paper should be the act of voting; every year, magistrates in counties and boroughs, and returning officers where there is no corporation, should appoint places where competent officers might sit for three or four days before the day of election, to take declarations and votes, and transmit them to the returning officer; distant votes might deliver their declaration to a magistrate; the voting-paper should contain a solemn declaration that the voter had not received, and would not receive, any bribe or consideration for his vote, and that he voted freely and willingly. The votes would then be examined, as under the present system; and the returning officers would have power to investigate the validity of voting-papers, and detect fraud by calling any voters before him and questioning them as to the validity of the paper. Candidates to deposit with the election officer say £300 for counties and £200 for boroughs, and enter into a bond to cover expenses.

After a few disparaging words from Colonel SMITH, the ATTORNEY-GENERAL said he would not oppose the introduction of a bill so novel in its principles and details: but he apprehended the bill would introduce the old evil of protracted polling and a scrutiny at the time of election.

Mr. HUME thought it would add to the evils it proposed to remedy; and

Mr. HENRY BERKELEY said it would increase intimidation, and not stop bribery.

The question was put and carried *nem. con.*; and the bill was read a first time.

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

In the House of Lords on Friday night, Earl FITZWILLIAM having presented a petition from several managers of schools in Ireland, praying that the order of the 8th of July last, excluding the "Introductory Lessons on Christian Evidences" from the course of national education in Ireland, might be rescinded, the Earl of EGLINTON moved for a committee to inquire into the system of national education in Ireland. The retirement of three principal members from the board of commissioners last year, the withdrawal of books from the schools after they had received the sanction of the board, and the regulation that allowed any parent to place a veto against the use of any book to which he might object, were circumstances that, in his opinion, demanded consideration and inquiry. The result of these proceedings must be taken to be, that all combined religious education was now at an end in Ireland. He begged to assure the House that he approached this subject with no spirit of hostility. On the contrary, he believed that the qualified support which he had given to the system had disappointed many of those with whom he was politically allied, and whose character, piety, and patriotism would render him most anxious to please them if it were possible.

The Earl of ABERDEEN would not oppose inquiry, though he hoped nothing would interfere with the working of a system which has hitherto done so much good. He regretted the withdrawal of the Archbishop of Dublin, but believed that the progress of national education had not been retarded. In proof of this, it was only necessary to compare the number of schools and scholars last year with the number for the year preceding. On the 31st of December, 1852, the number of schools was 4,963; on the 31st of December, 1853, it was 5,075; being an increase of 112 in the course of twelve months. The number of scholars in 1852, was 544,604; in 1853, it was 565,760. (Hear, hear.) Further than this, a communication from one of the resident commissioners stated that during the last fourteen years the schools were never in so sound and flourishing a state, or so rooted in the affections of the people, as at the present moment. It was also worthy of observation, that during the last year an increased number of Poor-law unions had placed their schools under the superintendence of the board. Out of 163 Poor-law unions, 141 had placed their schools under the board, and, although one had been withdrawn in the course of the last year, it was from causes quite unconnected with the retirement of the Archbishop of Dublin. Under these circumstances, he was justified in saying that the system had not sustained the slightest detriment in consequence of the event which, at the time, he had regarded as a great calamity.

The Bishop of Down defended the principle of allowing books to be withdrawn which, though sanctioned by the board, might not all be appropriate for the whole series of schools so various and diversified in their character.

Lord CLANCARTY rejoiced that inquiries were at last to be instituted into a system that denied the right of private judgment. He complained that the National School system had fallen into the hands of practical Roman Catholics. The very number of the schools founded under this system in Ireland was indicative of the character of the institution, 666—the mark of the beast. (Laughter.)

Lord MONTAGLE hoped that the whole question was not to be re-opened, or the present system of mutual tolerance disturbed. The Protestants in the north of Ireland had formerly raised an outcry against the very books of whose withdrawal they now complained.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE feared that the schools were now made instrumental for purposes of proselytism by the Roman Catholics. The most ardent leaders of disaffection in Ireland, in 1848, were the masters of the National Schools.

The motion was agreed to, and their lordships adjourned.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

In the House of Commons, on Friday night, Mr. LAYARD rose, pursuant to notice, to call attention to

the Eastern question. Briefly reciting the proceedings on this subject in the House of Commons last session, and attributing to the extraordinary reserve of the Government the state of uncertainty and excitement in which the country even still remained, he expressed his hope that this uncertainty would now be removed, and both the past conduct and the future intentions of the Administration effectually cleared up. He had some time since arrived at the conviction, that if the policy of the Government had been more straightforward, the course of events would have been materially changed; and after a careful perusal of the voluminous blue books, he found no reason to alter his opinion. The hon. member then entered into an historical analysis of the past events, contending that even in the earlier months of last year, the Ministry might have found ample warning in the military preparation, the diplomatic proceedings, and even in the language of Russia. He read various extracts, showing the points respecting which the British Government had been mistaken, short-sighted, or credulous. He quoted expressions from Russian despatches, in which Lord Aberdeen was significantly thanked and eulogised as playing a "beau rôle."

It appeared that the language of Lord J. Russell had not been regarded with so much favour by the Emperor of Russia. But at the end of that despatch there was a very curious passage. That despatch was written in French, and it was usual, for the convenience of members who did not understand the French language, to make a translation of these despatches. He was not altogether satisfied with the English version of this passage, and he accordingly turned to the French original. The House must excuse him if he quoted this passage in French (hear, hear):—

"Sous ce rapport Lord Aberdeen nous semble avoir parfaitement compris le beau rôle qu'avait à y jouer l'Angleterre et nous aimons à l'en féliciter, persuadés d'avance de l'impartialité qu'il mettra à le remplir."

(A laugh.) To his humble apprehension, the "beau rôle" that the noble lord at the head of the Government was stated to have so perfectly understood was rather an ironical expression. (Cheers.) But, on referring to the English translation, he found a rather more favourable and honourable interpretation of this passage. The translation ran thus,—"Lord Aberdeen appears to us to have fully understood the 'important part' which England had to play." (A laugh.) After the important part which the noble earl had played, it might be thought that Count Nesselrode was justified in speaking of the *beau rôle* of England in these transactions.

He showed that, as early as June last, Austria had declared against Russian aggression—Count Buol having stated, in a conversation with the British Minister, that he would make no engagements with Russia not to oppose her with arms, and he even added that, should he be called upon to carry out an armed intervention on the frontiers, it would be in support of the authority and independence of the Sultan. There was no evidence that any formal protest had been made against the occupation of the Principalities. Russia was delighted to find that England did not take up the question as became her, and in September they found Sir H. Seymour writing to Lord Clarendon to the effect, that the chances of a favourable issue were diminished by the belief indulged in by the Russian Cabinet, that the Turkish army could not hold out till the spring. On all sides the Government received warnings as to what the real intentions of Russia were—from Lord Stratford, from Count Nesselrode himself, from Lord Cowley—and, as showing the confidence with which Russia calculated upon our non-interference in anything like an effectual way, in a conversation related by Sir H. Seymour, that took place between himself and Count Nesselrode, the count said that he thought war would hardly be undertaken by a country so much interested in maintaining peace as England. Mr. Layard went on to remark that, in the matter of the Vienna Note, it was only the candid manifesto of Count Nesselrode which taught the Ministers what was the real import of that document, and prevented the consummation of a serious act of injustice. Adverting to the movements of the fleets, he found that in every step the French had taken the initiative, and seemed to be urging on their reluctant ally; and yet it had been pleaded, in vindication of the English Government, that they were hampered by the necessity of securing the co-operation of France. Declaring that the tragedy of Sinope required fuller explanations, he drew evidence from the published despatches to show that the admirals of the united fleets might have prevented that catastrophe, or the Turks by themselves have averted it, if it had not been for the timorous and vacillating instructions sent out from England. In reference to the Sinope affair, Mr. Layard related an anecdote with the view of showing the extreme blood-thirstiness of the Russians in this transaction:—

After they had sunk these miserable ships and were going away, they espied a few miserable wretches clinging to some spars and endeavouring to save their lives, when they manned boats, went to them, and took them off the wrecks; after which, they conveyed them to an island near and deliberately shot them, loading their guns with small shot for that purpose. What a contrast did that afford to the noble conduct of the Turkish commander (cheers), who, when he saw no chance but death or dishonour, gave leave to those who wished to leave the vessel, and he himself went to the powder magazine and blew himself up in order that the vessel might not fall into the hands of the enemy! Talk about this being a war against Christians! It was not hard to say who behaved most like infidels. (Cheers.)

But the question was, what were the Government going to do?

If they engaged in the war, they were bound to carry it to a successful issue, and have from it some tangible results. (Hear.) These could not be effected, or a favourable state of affairs brought about, until Russia was no longer allowed to

interfere with the internal administration of Turkey; until the Danubian Principalities, Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, were released from Russian interference; until the Danube was thrown open to European commerce; until Circassia had also been thrown open, and until the Caucasus, that high road to India, was cut off—for, as long as Russia possessed this high road into Persia, Asia Minor, and the centre of Asia, the Indian dominions of England were at her mercy, as she could bring her influence to bear on the population of India, and prevent this country from ever holding it otherwise than by military tenure,—until the Black Sea was no longer a *mare clausum*, and until Russia was compelled to give up its pretensions to the right of interfering with the Christian subjects of the Sultan—to nothing short of this could England submit or assent to without disgrace."

Mr. Layard proceeded to notice some of the arguments used against the Turks and their rule:—

"As a small work that he (Mr. Layard) had published had been cited in favour of this argument, as to the Turks being unworthy to govern, he might, by way of explanation, mention that the massacre alluded to in that work was not committed by the Turks, but by rebellious tribes. The Turks had often engaged in wars, at great cost, to enforce the rights of the Christians. The Albanian war was undertaken in defence of the Christians, and in Bosnia, Omar Pasha, the present commander-in-chief, carried on a war to a successful issue in order to compel the Mussulman to admit the Christians to those rights that had been accorded to his subjects by the Sultan. No doubt, acts of aggression had been committed by the Turks; he himself had been witness to some, and no one was more anxious or would do more than he to prevent their occurrence. Yet, whenever such acts were brought under the notice of the Sultan or his Ministers, immediate redress was afforded, and no one who had been in communication with the Sultan or his Ministers could doubt his humane or enlightened character, or his desire to place all his subjects on the same footing."

He contended that Turkey had very greatly improved during the last fifteen years.

"Great had been the improvement when they considered that the Turkish Government had to deal with people of different races, differing also in religion and language. Talk of Russia? It had been ever since the time of Peter the Great effecting these improvements. Turkey had done more in 15 years than Russia had in 150 years, notwithstanding that it had had better material, a people with no great difference of religion, and an emperor who was regarded as a god upon earth. With regard to the trade of this country with Turkey, he begged to call the attention of the House to the almost incredible increase that had taken place. He could not compare it to that of any other nation. It had increased from a most insignificant amount to nearly £3,000,000. He was told that part of this was derived from Asia; but what was this owing to but the liberal tariffs of the Turkish Government and the encouragement given by it? And if the Sultan was supported it would be found that the commerce would continue to increase in a similar ratio to what it had done of late years. With respect to the religious arguments that were advanced, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had stated, that one of the objects of Prince Menschikoff's mission was to prevent the spread of Protestantism in Turkey. He was glad that his noble friend had confirmed what he (Mr. Layard) had stated last year—that one of the great causes of the mission was to check the progress of religious opinions; he did not mean Protestantism only, but also of Catholicism. They were told that they ought to put the Greeks in their place. If they were to do this, they must carry out the same principle with regard to other sects. It was not that he approved of their religion that he spoke thus, but because he stood there as the advocate of truth, and he thought when that was at stake they ought not to be influenced by a man's religious belief, be he Mahomedan or of any other religious denomination." (Hear.)

In conclusion, he called upon the Government to do their duty, in the certainty that the people of England would do theirs.

Sir J. GRAHAM would not appeal to the forbearance of the House, but to its wisdom and justice, and was ready to stake the cause of the Government upon the decision. The primary duty of an administration was to preserve peace, so long as it was consistent with honour, and this they had done up to the present moment. Commencing his reply to the various charges brought against the Government, with the allegation that they had blindly trusted to Russian assurances, he remarked that Russia had been an old and faithful ally of Great Britain, and dark, malignant suspicions did not easily take root in generous minds. The assertion that the Russian armaments would have been checked, and especially the Sinope disaster averted, by a more prompt movement of the naval forces, he met by comparing the dates of the instructions sent to the admirals with those of the successive events, citing several passages from the despatches of Lord Stratford in support of his argument, and remarking, also, in reference to the last-mentioned catastrophe, that no one except the Turkish officials knew in how disgracefully defenceless a condition the harbour of Sinope had been left. Briefly vindicating the Vienna note, he went through the catalogue of succeeding events, contending, that in every instance the Government had shown quite as much vigour as the case required, or as was compatible with their hopes and efforts for averting war. Besides maintaining peace through many months of complicated negotiations, in which the French Emperor had proved a faithful participator, the Ministry, he pleaded, had done much:—

The hon. gentleman asks us what has been the result of all these transactions? I tell him, in the first place, that we have avoided war up to the last moment (cheers); and in the next place, that there has been established a cordial union with France. (Renewed cheers.) Here I cannot neglect the opportunity of bearing testimony to the perfect good faith of the French Government, and more especially of the Emperor at the head of it, throughout the whole of these arduous transactions and complicated negotiations. (Cheers.) I hold it to be only discharging a debt of justice to express this opinion, and to state that we have not the slightest grounds of complaint in any one particular against France. (Cheers.) We have, then, cemented the union between France and England. Have we done nothing more? We have also succeeded in combining Austria and Prussia with us in many most important transactions. (Hear, hear.) There has been some doubt thrown on what was the exact meaning of the Vienna note. This is immediately connected with another subject on which the hon.

gentleman touched; and the question arises, what is the true interpretation of the old treaties? What were the engagements of Turkey under the treaty of Kainardji? Turkey, in rejecting the Vienna note, put her construction on those engagements, and Russia, by Count Nesselrode's comments on that note, intimated her interpretation of them in an opposite sense—an interpretation clearly inconsistent with the rights, independence, and integrity of Turkey. Well, then, as it is no advantage that there should have been obtained the concurrence of Prussia and Austria, in addition to that of France and of England in placing that interpretation on the old treaties which Turkey put on them, and in absolutely repudiating the Russian interpretation? (Cheers.) That we have succeeded in doing while maintaining peace. Nay, more, we have in the conference in Vienna obtained the consent of Austria and Prussia to the declaration that the terms offered by Turkey are reasonable terms, and that those terms ought to be accepted by Russia. (Hear, hear.) Still further, we have the concurrent declaration of the Four Powers, that the counter-project of Russia, rejecting them, is inadmissible. (Hear, hear.) Thus we have insulated Russia, and she now stands alone. That which was in the beginning of the year 1853 a quarrel between Russia and Turkey, has now assumed the aspect of Russia contending against Europe united (hear, hear); and I must again repeat, that to obtain this result, with war not yet declared, appears to me to be, I will not say a diplomatic triumph, but a great advantage. (Laughter.) I say we are ready for war—we are prepared for war. France, too, is prepared for war. Russia has not yet crossed the Danube; and not a Russian ship of war can navigate the Black Sea, which Russia has hitherto treated as a *mare clausum*. (Hear, hear.) France and England are determined that the Principalities shall be evacuated. (Cheers.) Austria and Prussia have stated that they agree in opinion that the independence of Turkey must be maintained, and that the occupation of the Principalities by Russia is inadmissible. Therefore, that which was before a mere Turkish quarrel is now a European one, and the settlement, like the quarrel, must be European. (Hear, hear.)

Whatever their decision he called upon them not to potter over blue-books and raise small objections at the risk of creating disunion and delay. If there were serious grounds of complaint let them be urged manfully, and the Ministry put definitely upon their defence; but let the machine of Government move on in any case, at a crisis when it could not be arrested for a moment without serious peril. "I must say (he concluded) that, as after all this discussion no clear or substantial decision can be come to on such a motion as that the Speaker leave the chair, I am almost ashamed to have trespassed on the time of the House so long." (Cheers.)

Lord JOCELYN then addressed the House, and contended that the Government had incurred heavy sacrifices for the sake of conciliating Russia, who had outwitted them after all.

Lord DUDLEY STUART had not read all the blue-books on the subject, but he saw enough to convince him that the course of the Government wanted boldness, and should be described as composed of one part discretion and three parts cowardice. That it could not be termed wise he argued from the historical facts, which proved how utterly untrustworthy had been the conduct of Russia in regard to treaties. Our Government ought to have taken a firm attitude against the pretensions of that Power:—

The general opinion of those with whom he had an opportunity of conversing on the continent was, that if the attempt of Russia had been met in that way, it would have been nipped in the bud. (Hear, hear.) But more than that, it was the general opinion, that if England had not been governed by a Minister who, right or wrong, was supposed to have a strong leaning to Russia (hear, hear), and who, by former acts, was understood to show a great desire to comply with any of the demands of that country—it was the general opinion that if, instead of such a Minister, we had had one of a firmer character, not only would the Pruthi never have been crossed, but that the demands of Russia would never have been expressed. (Hear, hear.) Wherever he (Lord D. Stuart) had gone he had heard but one opinion on the subject, and that one opinion had been pronounced in a single word and in a single name—Palmerston. (Hear, hear.) "If you had had a Minister of that description," was the almost universal expression of every statesman and politician that could be talked with on the continent, "nothing would have happened." (Hear, hear.)

Lord Dudley proceeded to refer to his own observations during his visit to the East:—

He believed that there was not a statesman who better understood the question of Turkey, or who was more anxious to defend the interests of England, as connected with it, than Lord Stratford, and he stated, that "Turkey had exhibited a spirit of self-devotion, unaccompanied by any fanatical demonstration," and that the Sultan "appealed with perfect success to the zeal of the Mussulman, and the loyalty of her Christian population." (Hear, hear.) What he (Lord D. Stuart) saw in the country agreed entirely with this description. The Turks were accused of fanaticism, but he maintained they were showing the greatest patriotism. (Hear, hear.) If any attempt were made by a foreign power to interfere with the internal affairs of this country, especially upon any subject connected with religion, would not the Protestants of this country rise up as one man to repel the intruder? And would they then be told that all their zeal and desire to defend their rights and honour were nothing but fanaticism? (Hear.) Though the Turks had come forward to defend their sovereign, they had exhibited no fanatical conduct. There had been no insolence offered to the Christians, nor any disturbances whatever that could be referred to religious feeling. When he was at Constantinople, in December last, there was a series of *émeutes*, but they were occasioned by a number of the younger portion of the population, the students of law, as they might be called—the *softas*—who had got the notion that the Government was going to make concessions to Russia, and sign an inglorious and dishonourable peace. But there was no disturbance whatever. They declared at once that they had no desire to interfere with the Christians or their privileges, and no person was molested. He had himself been walking about and had passed the greater part of the day in the bazaars and that part of Constantinople which was more particularly inhabited by the Mussulmans. He wore a French dress, and he met with no annoyance, and he did not believe that a single Christian had been injured upon that occasion. He was glad to state that the Turkish army was in extremely good order. The troops were fine men, who were well formed, well equipped, and well cared for, both in barracks and in hospital. Under Omar Pasha, at all events, they were also

well commanded, and he trusted that they would be able to give such a good account of their enemy as would continue to do them honour, and would suffice to defend their territory until they should receive the succour of this country and France, to which they were entitled by their valour, the nature of their cause, and the conduct which had been pursued by their Government. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ROEBUCK defended the conduct of the Ministry, in a situation which he considered exceedingly delicate. If they had rushed hastily into war, the first to condemn them would be the opponents who now condemn them for temerity. Nor did he see reason to conclude that the earlier assumption of an hostile attitude would have stopped the Czar. At present, their chief duty was to prove that the English people were united and in earnest: that, having spared no effort to preserve peace, they would meet war with corresponding energy—

We ought to tell Europe by our conduct at this crisis that we really, and in earnest, meant to stop the Emperor of Russia in his career of spoliation, and that, in order effectually to do so, we intended to act as one man. (Loud cheers.) If Government would speak out upon this subject it would be well, and then, if what they proposed were satisfactory, all parties would come forward and assist them in their efforts. At any rate, it seemed to him that our duty at this time was not so much to look back and cavil at what had been done, and could not now be helped, as to look forward and consider what was the wisest thing to do. (Cheers.) We ought to examine carefully the demands of Russia, and at the same time ask ourselves of what we were afraid. As far as the mere question of war was concerned, it appeared to him that, if such were necessary, we might be called upon to undertake the same at some future time under circumstances not half so favourable as the present (hear, hear); and it would be the height of folly in us—merely for the sake of avoiding such a war, which sooner or later must inevitably take place, to allow Russia and Turkey to settle this matter by themselves, now we had been forced so far into it. What would be the consequence of so doing? Why, the consequence would be this—that when Russia was once in possession of Constantinople—as she would virtually be—she would have the use and command of the Dardanelles; she would shut up the Black Sea, and, by preventing our channel of approach, would effectually extend her possessions in India and the East. (Hear, hear.) Now was, in fact, the time to go to war, because now we had a close alliance and good understanding with France, such, as from circumstances over which we had no control, might be severed at some future time, or, at all events, might not be so cordial as at present. If Government are desirous to go to war, or rather, if they have exhausted all means of preserving peace, and thus are compelled to have recourse to war (hear, hear), we ought to assist them with all our might, honestly and truly. (Loud cheers.) [The hon. member, who spoke in a very low voice, was listened to throughout with the greatest attention, and resumed his seat amid loud cheers.]

Lord JOHN RUSSELL, “after the very generous and very wise speech of the honourable member for Sheffield,” could have no hesitation in giving that information, so properly asked for on so grave and important an occasion. Lord John censured the course taken by “his honourable friend,” Mr. Layard. The House might have taken three courses. It might have voted that ministers had committed so many errors in their former policy as not to be fit guides in the war; it might have said, “You have committed errors, and might have made better alliances, but we will waive those questions of difficulty, and vote the estimates for the year”; or, it might have said, without entering into any question about the negotiations, “We will wait to see our grounds of confidence in the vigour and judgment with which the war may be prosecuted.” But Mr. Layard had made out a case of censure, then gave ministers a pass for their errors, and allowed the votes. Lord John followed Sir James Graham in challenging the House to give its censure or its confidence. He also surveyed the blue-books, to show that the want of straightforwardness was on the side of Russia; that the deliberation of Ministers had not been vacillation or delay; and that they could not refrain from sustaining the principles from which they set out, unless they desired to let Russia, by means of menace, or force, or “by lavish diplomacy,” render Turkey utterly prostrate, and had thus consented “to compliment away the independence of Turkey.” Lord John spoke in the following severe terms of the Sinope massacre:—

“The disaster which took place at Sinope was one that must have affected every man in this country with the most painful feelings. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I must say I was greatly surprised at reading the congratulations addressed by the Emperor of Russia to his officers and his admirals upon the receipt of the intelligence of the destruction and the butchery at that so-called victory (cheers)—a victory [of some six or seven large line-of-battle ships over six or seven frigates of very inferior quality (hear, hear)]—a victory pushed to the extent of the most dreadful carnage, and with no sort of generosity shown. (Cheers.) That the advantage of a large and superior force like that should be a source of glory to the Russians, and a reason for the congratulations of a sovereign to his subjects, does, I own, afflict me with a feeling of the greatest disgust.” (Cheers.)

The rejection by Russia of the last proposals of the Four Powers showed a grievous disregard to the peace of Europe:—

Now I must say that, considering these Four Powers were England, France, Austria, and Prussia, and that they represented all the great powers of Europe, with the exception of Russia, and that the terms were proposed with the view of preventing a bloody and costly war, which was likely to extend over all Europe—I must say that the Emperor of Russia showed a total disregard of the peace of Europe—(hear, hear)—an utter contempt of the opinion of Europe—(hear, hear)—and an entire disrespect of those sovereigns with whom he had been in alliance. (Cheers.) Instead of any acceptance of the terms proposed by the Four Powers, others were sent to Vienna by Russia which will be shortly laid on the table of the House, containing very much a repetition of the old demands, with the addition of other terms, one of which is, that the refugees in Turkey of different nations should be expelled from that country—(hear, hear)—an article which must tend to weaken Turkey, as it would be the source of continual remonstrance, and the cause of war whenever it pleased the Emperor of Russia. (Hear.)

He would not attempt to say that he entertained a hope that the Emperor of Russia would accede to that proposition, or that he would abstain from enforcing, with all the power of Russia, those unjustifiable demands which he had hitherto made. Lord John stated the position and intentions of Ministers:—

In the first place, that there has been an exchange of notes between England and France, promising to co-operate in giving assistance to Turkey, and declaring on the part of both Powers that no selfish interests and no increase of territory or power is sought for. (Cheers.) They feel that the cause is one, in the first place, of the independence of Turkey—a Power which has been most cruelly outraged—(loud cheers)—a Power which has resisted with great firmness and with great ability the unjust demands of the diplomatic Ministers of Russia; and a Power which has resisted with courage and skill in the field the united legions of Russia (Loud cheers.) But, Sir, the cause is still more. It is to mankind the peace of Europe, of which the Emperor of Russia is the wanton disturber—(cheers)—and it is for mankind to throw upon the head of that disturber the consequences which he has so flagrantly, and, I believe, so imprudently evoked. (Cheers.) And it is to mankind the independence, not only of Turkey, but of Germany, and of all European nations. The state of Germany for the last few years has been one, if not absolutely of independence upon the Emperor of Russia, at least one in which dependence has not been very loudly asserted. (Hear, hear.) I could not but think, on reading the transactions that took place last year at Paris, that there was too much acquiescence on the part of the German Powers in the unjustifiable pretensions of Russia. (Loud cheers.) This House is aware, and I have had occasion to relate it with that commendation which I thought was due, that, when the Earl of Malmesbury found that the Emperor of the French meant to be faithful to the engagements of the country over which he was called to reign, and that his object was to maintain the peace of Europe, on the part of this country, the willing recognition of the Queen was declared to the new form of government. (Hear, hear.) But the Powers or Germany thought it advisable to wait until the Emperor of Russia had declared his mind on the subject, and the mind of the Emperor of Russia was, that the Emperor of the French might be acknowledged; but that, not having descended from a line which had for centuries occupied the throne, he (the Emperor of Russia) could not call the Emperor of the French his brother. (Laughter.) The Emperor of the French had too much good sense to attach any very great importance to whether he was called “my good friend,” or “my brother.” (Laughter and cheers.) But it was understood that the Powers of Germany, one and all, desired their representatives to wait at Paris, and not to recognize the Emperor of the French until they were assured that the unusual form of recognition of the Emperor of Russia had been received. I say, Sir, that that shows a state of Germany not so independent as one would wish. (Hear, hear.) I cannot but think—and there are growing symptoms of it every day—that this violent attempt on the part of Russia, that these acts in violation of all right and justice, have at length aroused both in Austria and Prussia a sense that they must consider the welfare of Europe before consulting the will of the Emperor of Russia. My belief is, therefore, although we have no engagement with them—and I state it plainly to the House, that they are not bound to us to resist in any manner the acts of aggression on the part of Russia—still, my belief is that both those nations, constituting the great empire of Germany—divided as Germany is into separate sovereignties—will be too much impressed with the growing importance and position of that empire—of its 35,000,000 inhabitants, of its enlightenment, of its civilization, and of the importance of maintaining its independence—not to take care that the aggrandisement of Russia does not become so formidable as to threaten the independence of that great Germanic power. I believe, therefore, that in undertaking this contest, even though we should not have the immediate assistance of those two great German Powers, yet that they would look on with a view, not to aid Russia—not to engage themselves to Russia—but, on the contrary, to use all their influence, and, if necessary, their arms, to stop her in her attempted progress of conquest and of lawless force. (Cheers.) I have said that we have an engagement with France. We have now proposed to make an engagement with Turkey by which we shall be sure, besides other things which are necessary on such occasions, that Turkey will not agree to any peace with Russia, while we are giving our aid and assistance, without our consent and concurrence. (Loud cheers.) That engagement with Turkey has not yet been formed; but I have no doubt that, considering the manner in which the affairs of Turkey have been lately conducted, that she will willingly accept the aid and assistance which England and France can give her upon the condition I have stated. And, Sir, I beg here to say that, in entering upon that contest, we shall have the greatest confidence in, and reliance upon, our French ally. (Loud cheers.) The conduct of the Emperor of the French during the whole of these transactions, in our repeated and almost daily intercommunications, has been so open, so frank, and so straightforward, that it is impossible not to place the utmost reliance in him and in his Government. (Great cheering.) With respect to the exertions it may be necessary for us to make—without at present speaking of the efforts that we may hereafter be called upon to use, but confining myself to what, at the very beginning of this struggle, it will be incumbent on us to adopt—I beg to state that we shall think it necessary, in the estimates for the year, to add no less a sum than £3,000,000 of money to the amount that was asked for last year. It may be said that this is a large increase of our naval and army establishments. But, I say again, as the right hon. gentleman has said, and which I also stated in the beginning of my speech, that these resources are necessary; but, at the same time, if you think that the direction to be given to them can be better confided to other hands, declare that to be your opinion by some early vote, and place the direction of the resources of this empire in more skilful and abler hands. But if you do not take that course, and you confide them to us, then we shall expect your confidence in allowing us to carry on these transactions according to the best of our judgment, without which confidence no success can possibly take place. (Hear.) Recollect that success in war depends upon secrecy, depends upon combination, depends upon rapidity, and that it is inconsistent with success to explain your operations. (Cheers.) I am not asking too much, therefore, when I ask you to adopt one or the other of those alternatives, and either place the government of the war in other hands, or, if not, then to give us that confidence which is necessary successfully to carry it on. (Hear, hear.) It is not to be forgotten that war brings with it increased burdens. (Hear.) Let no man suppose that we can enter upon a struggle with the Emperor of Russia, in support of a power comparatively feeble, without making considerable efforts, and without calling upon the people to bear burdens greater than they have had to sustain during a time when we were at peace with all the world. (Hear, hear.) If they are not prepared to bear those burdens, let them not enter into this

war; but let them, if they do enter into this war, endeavour to carry it to a successful issue. (Cheers.) For my part, if most unexpectedly the Emperor of Russia should recede from his former demands, and at the sight of all Europe disapproving his conduct, and of two of the most considerable nations of Europe being prepared to act in arms, if necessary, against him, he should acknowledge the independence and integrity of the Porte in the only manner in which it could be satisfactorily done—I shall, and we shall all, rejoice to be spared the efforts and the burdens of a conflict. (Hear, hear.) But, if that is not to be, and if peace is no longer consistent with our duty to England, with our duty to Europe, and with our duty to the world—if the ambition of this enormous Power has got to such a pitch that even its moderation is more ambitious than the ambition of other States—if Russia will not be contented with anything less than the subjugation of the whole empire of Turkey and the possession of Constantinople itself—if such are her feelings and such are her objects—then we can only endeavour to enter into this contest with a stout heart. (Cheers.) May God defend the right! and, for my part, I shall willingly share the burden and the responsibility. (The noble lord resumed his seat amid loud cheers from both sides of the House.)

Mr. CROSSLEY contended that England was not justified in interfering in the affairs of the Continent, and referred to the great increase in the public burdens which must result from such a contest as that in which the Government were about to engage, as a reason for pausing before they entered upon it.

Mr. COBDEN and Mr. H. BAILLIE moved the adjournment of the debate. Lord JOHN RUSSELL hoped the House would not separate without voting the required men. Upon this Mr. DISRAELI explained, that he would rather have taken the discussion after the Navy Estimates if he had had the control of the arrangement; but after the speech of Sir James Graham, who told them they were not to “potter” over the blue-books, he thought the debate had better be continuous. He described Lord John Russell’s speech, amidst the cheers of the House, as worthy of himself and the occasion. He added, that foreign nations would see that there would be no difference of opinion as to the number of men that will be requisite in the prosecution of a just war.

On these conditions, Lord JOHN agreed to adjourn the debate.

On Monday night the debate was resumed by Mr. COBDEN, who, after tracing the history of the diplomacy of the Western Powers up to the date of the Vienna Note, contended that the whole difference between these Powers and Russia consisted in this, that the former wished that the grievances of the Christians in Turkey should be redressed by themselves, and not by Russia, and for this despicable ground of quarrel Europe was to be deluged in blood! Whether from Russia or England, the Christian population of Turkey were looking for those ameliorations which Russia (for selfish ends, no doubt) desired to secure to them. Mr. Cobden read extracts from the official papers showing the condition of Christians in Turkey, and the misgovernment of its Greek subjects by the Porte. This state of things was fully exhibited by Lord Clarendon’s letter of instructions to Lord Stratford, on his appointment as ambassador to Constantinople. Again, he found on the 24th of June Lord Clarendon sent a letter to Lord Stratford, in which the same subject was again referred to in the following terms:—“Your Excellency has long and zealously laboured to obtain for the Christians in Turkey that their evidence should be received in the courts of justice with the same consideration and respect as their Mussulman fellow-subjects, and that the barbarous distinction which fanaticism has long interposed between Turks and Rayahs in this respect should no longer be allowed to prevail. It is impossible to suppose that any true sympathy for their rulers will be felt by the Christians, so long as they are made to experience in all their daily transactions the inferiority of their position as compared with that of their Mussulman fellow-subjects—so long as they are aware that they will seek in vain for justice for wrongs done either to their persons or their properties, because they are deemed a degraded race, unworthy to be put in comparison with the followers of Mahomet. Your Excellency will plainly and authoritatively state to the Porte that this state of things cannot be longer tolerated by Christian Powers. The Porte must decide between the maintenance of an erroneous religious principle and the loss of the sympathy and support of its allies. Without the hearty assistance of its Christian dependents and the powerful sympathy and support of its Christian allies, the Turkish empire must soon cease to exist.” Here we find the Christian Powers insisting and demanding that the Turkish Government should ameliorate the condition of its Christian population, as the evils and oppressions under which that population lived could not be tolerated. Could Russia say more than that? And then the letter proceeded further to state that the Porte must make its choice between an erroneous religious principle and the loss of the support of its allies. He would ask what possible good could come from an alliance between two countries when the one demanded from the Government of the other, as a condition of effecting any good at all, that it should abandon its religious principle? Did the House think it possible that a population like the fanatical Mussulman population of Turkey would abandon its religion? And yet, if it did not, we were told it was impossible to do justice to the subjects of the country. It was absolutely impossible to put the Christians of Turkey upon an equality with the Turks without a total abandonment of the law of the Koran, the great evil of that religious system being, that it took up a man from the cradle and never parted with him till he was in the grave—that it regulated the civil law of the country and exercised an influence over all the social happiness of the whole people. (Hear.) He now came to the first letter from Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to Lord Clarendon, in which a reference was made to the state of the Christian population of Turkey. It was dated July 4, 1853, and Lord Stratford said, “Already the

dissatisfaction prevailing in Bulgaria threatens to end in an insurrection of the Christians. A party in Servia is, at the same time, suspected—I hope erroneously—of looking to the first occasion for making a push towards independence. The whole of European Turkey, from the frontier of Austria to that of Greece, is almost denuded of regular soldiers, and exposed to the irruption of Albanian hordes habituated to turbulence and plunder. Information has reached me from Scutari that the Montenegrins are preparing to make an incursion into Turkey, with the prospect of finding sympathy and co-operation among the Christian tribes in that neighbourhood. A spirit of fanaticism, dangerous alike to the rayahs and to the authorities—dangerous to neglect and difficult to controul—appears to be rising in other parts of the country. The Greeks, though still quiet, have taken up a position, and hold in society a language which indicates views of ambition, unrestrained by principles or by treaties." About this time Lord Stratford had very properly caused inquiries to be made throughout Turkey by our consuls as to the condition of the people, and especially the Christian population. By this means a great number of reports had been collected. The spirit of these reports was apparent in Lord Clarendon's answer, dated July 20, 1853:—"The urgent necessity of extricating Turkey from her present position by peaceful means is now more strongly than ever impressed upon her Majesty's Government by the numerous reports from her Majesty's consuls in different parts of the empire, which your Excellency has transmitted upon the alarming state of the country, and by your Excellency's opinion respecting the dangers which threaten the authority of the Sultan in Bulgaria and Servia from the disaffection of the people, and in European Turkey from the absence of regular troops; while it appears that the Montenegrins are preparing to make an incursion into Turkey, and that the Shah of Persia, instigated by Russia, is collecting an army at Sal-tanah; and your Excellency considers that a spirit of fanaticism, dangerous alike to the rayahs and the authorities, is rising in various parts of the country; and that the Greeks have taken up a position which indicates views unrestrained by principles or by treaties. But, at the same time—[he wished the House particularly to mark this passage]—the Turkish Government is so little mindful of its interests not to offend Christian Powers at this moment, or so powerless to enforce its own orders, that your Excellency was compelled on the 22d ult., and again on the 4th inst., to address to the Porte an energetic remonstrance against the rapine, the exactions, and the cruelties, to which its Christian subjects were exposed. [He wished to call particular attention to the two following lines.] It is evident, then, that imminent and daily increasing perils menace [in a country which had made more progress in improvement than any other country in the world], not alone the authority of the Sultan, but the very existence of the Turkish empire—[it must be remembered that this was the language of Lord Clarendon to the representative of her Majesty in Turkey]—and there is too much reason to fear that the number and the intensity of these perils must be increased by delay in putting an end to the state of things which your Excellency has so powerfully described." Further on Lord Clarendon talks about "the danger of internal dissolution" of Turkey—in a country which, according to Lord Palmerston, had, in the last fifteen years, made more progress than any other in the world! Were progress and reform means of dissolution? He always thought before that corruption, misgovernment, peculation, and falsehood were the paths which led to the dissolution of a State. (Cheers.) As late as last Nov. 24, in last year, Lord Stratford writes word, that in hinting at "internal improvements" to the Sultan as desirable, "the answer was one of acquiescence, but not such as I was entitled to expect." That was the manner in which the Sultan received the questions of reform that were pressed upon him. Again, in Dec. 31st., 1853, the same noble lord says:—"It would not be safe to hedge round the Ottoman empire with European guarantees, unless the Porte engaged at the same time to realise and extend her system of improved administration." It appeared to him that the evidence contained in the Parliamentary blue-books went a long way to prove that there was a great spirit of dissatisfaction existing among the Christian population of Turkey. That conclusion was drawn—not from any production of his own, for he had abstained from saying one syllable upon any source of information he might possess—but from the reports supplied to the British Government by their own accredited agents and representatives—reports which led us to believe that, in case of war, we must expect to hear of an insurrection of the Christian subjects of Turkey. Official evidence also proved, he said, that even the Mahomedan population were ground down by oppression. And we were asked to form an alliance, to go into partnership, with such a State! Suppose the great body of the Turkish people had votes and returned representatives in a similar manner to the people of this country, what would be their policy? Would it be that of the Sultan or of the Czar? Most undoubtedly it would be that of the Czar. We were about to fight on the side of a small minority, and after a time might come to view this as a religious question. He appealed to the constitutional instincts of the country, and he asked whether we ought to go to a country and take the part of a dominant race, who did not number a quarter of the population, who were detested for their past misgovernment, and enable them to resist the just demands of the oppressed majority? (Hear.) Mr. Cobden then examined and replied to the arguments on the other side, founded upon the comparative value of the trade with Russia and Turkey. Our imports from Russia averaged about £12,000,000 sterling per annum, and included among them articles of primary importance to our manufacturers. Our exports to Turkey did not amount to more than

£3,000,000, and he heard from the best authority that £1,000,000 of this produce was taken into the Black Sea to Trebizond, and went into Persia. Thus our exports to Turkey did not exceed £2,000,000, even including what passed into Moldavia and Wallachia. He believed that Turkey did not export more than £2,500,000 of her own produce, and, comparing both countries together, there could be no doubt that the Russian trade was three times the importance of the trade with Turkey. (Hear.) With the exception of the United States, there was no one foreign country with which our trade was so important as with Russia. (Hear, hear.) He next inquired how the war was to be carried on with a mighty military Power, the greater part of Europe being neutral. If there was real danger, as Lord John Russell alleged, to "all mankind," those nearest the danger ought to be the first to meet it. If we were going really to fight for the Turks, let us, he said, fight with our navy, and not send a miserable 20,000 troops to the Danube. Mr. Cobden concluded as follows:—"He had no hesitation in saying that he was opposed to the war with Russia—that he was opposed to a war with Russia, which hung upon so fine a thread, so gossamer-like, that they could hardly see or touch it—as whether the Sultan should sign a note, declaring to the Emperor Nicholas that he would preserve certain privileges of his Christian subjects, or whether he should give that declaration to the whole of the European Powers? He said, on such a subject as that he dare not advocate the plunging this country into a war, with all its horrors, which would deluge half Europe in blood; he had not the courage to do so, and therefore this country, being in the position, he might consider, of a member having given his assent to the principle of a bill, yet is obliged to object to its details, he thought the best thing was to fall back upon that Vienna Note. (Derisive laughter.) He saw no objection to it. (Laughter.) It saved the honour of the Sultan, because it was not the note of Prince Menschikoff, but that of the Four Powers, accepted by Russia. He could see no objection to this country withdrawing its promise of material support to Turkey unless she agreed with that note. With respect to the inconsistency of such a proceeding, he did not think diplomacy would suffer much if it rescued us from war at the expense of one more inconsistency. He would take upon himself all the unpopularity of opposing this war; and, more than that, he would not give six months' purchase for the popularity of those who advocated it on its present bases. (Hear, hear.)

Lord J. MANNERS, after replying to some of the arguments of Mr. Cobden, proceeded to criticise and inculcate the proceedings of the Government, censuring their blindness to the patent designs of Russia, their disregard of repeated warnings, their belief in declarations, and distrust of facts communicated by their own agents, and their tardy and reluctant consent to co-operate with France.

Mr. HORSMAN expressed his surprise and regret at many parts of the speech, and his dissent from the reasoning of Mr. Cobden, whose fallacies, he said, he would endeavour to expose, supplying facts he had omitted. Mr. Cobden had treated the question as a dispute between two neighbouring states, the consequences of which were confined to themselves, and had dwelt upon the folly of our going to war for a State tottering through its own internal weakness. But the question really was, should the Emperor of Russia be Emperor of Turkey also? The conduct of Russia was in pursuance of a policy long planned and deliberately carried out, by which the possession of Constantinople was held to be essential to the consummation of Russian greatness, and this was considered the favourable moment for striking the long meditated blow. The whole proceeding of Russia has been, he said, a course of ferocity, force, and falsehood, which had shocked all Europe. On the other hand, Mr. Horsman pronounced a warm panegyric upon the conduct of the Sultan, who, he considered, was battling in the cause of civilization. With regard to the course pursued by the Government, after a patient investigation of the papers, he had come to the conclusion that throughout the negotiations Lord Clarendon had only a choice of difficulties, and he could not himself suggest, and no one had suggested, any other course which would not have been far more disastrous; he recapitulated some of the arguments which might have been forcibly urged, if any other course had been adopted, and showed the advantages which would have been lost. With reference to the objects of the war, he trusted that one of the conditions of the peace would be that Russia should pay the expenses of the hostilities, or restore to Turkey some of the territories of which she had been deprived.

Mr. DRUMMOND believed they were entering upon a religious war—another crusade; and that into this we were led by that author of all mischief, the Pope. The country was no doubt very angry with Russia; but the contents of the blue-books related to the rights and privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches in Turkey, and he wanted the country to understand that the question was not the balance of power, but only a religious question, and that we were entering upon a religious war. In fact, the present dispute is, whether the milliner shall come from Paris or St. Petersburg to dress these idols. (Loud laughter.) He exposed what he considered to be the futility of the plea that the war was entered upon to support the balance of power, observing that, supposing that to be the object, it would be still impossible to prevent its being a religious war. He wound up as follows: "But if you are determined to go to war—if it be true that it is to establish the balance of power—if it be true that you are determined to humble Russia and support the infidel Turk—if you will compel Austria and Prussia to stand true to their engagements, or abide the consequences (hear, hear)—then I say, 'Go where glory waits you.' (Laughter.) Enter on that path on

which France has already entered; enter on the course to which the first Napoleon was pledged, and all of whose engagements the second Napoleon holds himself responsible to fulfil; strike your blow at the heart of Russia, and don't go wasting your shots in the Black Sea. (Hear, hear.) Do at least one act, which will accomplish all you say you want; do an act which, after all, is but tardy retributive justice—proclaim the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland (cheers); and this will effect more to bring these continental Sovereigns to their senses than all your guards and fleets. (Hear, hear.)

After a few words from Mr. I. BUTT, Mr. S. HERBERT observed, that the conflicting objections to the conduct of the Government placed it between two fires. It was not possible to manage a long and intricate negotiation so that a man with the mind of a special pleader could not pick out isolated passages upon which he might found a charge. Mr. Cobden argued that England had no interest in the matter in dispute, but England had an interest wherever there was an European interest; if any State had a stake in the maintenance of public law, it must be a country like England, engaged in commerce throughout the world. The people, he believed, were satisfied that the Government had done its utmost to preserve peace, and were not inclined to question the course they had pursued, but to give them their support.

Mr. DISRAELI endeavoured to ascertain, from the papers laid before the House, the cause, and thence to deduce the object of the war into which we had entered. The mature opinion of the most eminent statesmen, he observed, was, that Russia had no intention of forcibly conquering Turkey, but that, by policy and indirect means, and by exercising an influence over the Greek population of the Ottoman empire, she would obtain all the authority that would result from her possession of Constantinople itself, and this design was almost avowed in a despatch of Count Nesselrode in January, 1853. The policy of Russia had been clear and transparent; there was to be a diplomatic movement to increase her influence over the Greek population in Turkey, peaceably, by the friendly exertions of the English Ministers at Paris and Constantinople. With this object all but avowed, and the means detailed, and in inquiring how the Ministers encountered this design, Mr. Disraeli reviewed the proceedings of the late and the present Governments, imputing to the latter the omission of a formal demand of an explicit explanation from Russia of what was meant by "equivalent compensation" when her forces were assembling on the frontier. The Government had had these warnings—military demonstrations and declarations from the Russian Ministers—yet, at the time when she was menaced by the legions of Russia, they were lecturing Turkey, whose independence and integrity were assumed to be not phrases, but facts, about internal reforms, with a significant intimation that the conduct of the Porte must be distinguished by the utmost moderation and prudence—a hint that it should comply with the demands of Russia. After reading, with a running commentary, extracts from various despatches from January to July, 1853, he drew from them, he said, the inevitable conclusion that the Government were influenced either by a degree of confidence which assumed the morbid character of credulity, or by connivance. The cause of the war was, he believed, to be found in the conduct of the negotiations by the Government during those seven months, and if prompted by credulity, the war might have favourable results; but in the other alternative, if the war should be carried on by connivers, it would be a timorous, a vacillating war, with no results, or with the results which were originally intended. Referring to a declaration ascribed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Manchester, that the integrity and independence of Turkey were different from those of England and France, he advised the House to think twice before they sanctioned this war, which, if conducted on the policy of connivance, would only lead to an ignominious peace. Having ascertained the cause of the war—namely, the management of the negotiations by the Ministry—he came to consider the future, and, upon this head, he discussed our relations with France and with the German Powers, blaming the Government for not obtaining from Austria and Prussia a distinct intimation of their intended course in the event of hostilities. "Whatever opinion we may entertain of the conduct of the Government in the management of those transactions which have led to this terrible conclusion (said Mr. Disraeli in conclusion), I cannot suppose that, upon these benches, there can be any difference of opinion as to the duty we have to fulfil—to support the Sovereign, and to maintain the honour of this country. (Loud cheers from the Opposition.) I can assure the noble lord that so long as the Opposition benches are filled by those who now occupy them, he will at least encounter men who will not despair, under any circumstances, of the resources and of the fortunes of their country. (Renewed cheers from the Opposition.) The noble lord possesses great historical information, and has great experience of this House. I cannot but believe that the noble lord must have drawn his opinion of those who sit opposite to him from his recollection of other and preceding Oppositions. ("Hear," and cheers.) I don't know whether, on the part of the noble lord, it was an effort of memory or remorse (laughter); but this I can say—I can answer for myself and for my friends, that no future Wellesley on the banks of the Danube will have to make a bitter record of the exertions of an English Opposition that depreciated his efforts, and that ridiculed his talents. (Loud cheers from the Opposition.) We shall remember what we believe to be our duty to this country; and, however protracted may be the war—however unfortunate (addressing the occupants of the Ministerial benches) your counsels—at least we shall never despair of the Republic." (Loud cheers.)

Lord PALMERSTON said, that if he thought a Government were chargeable with either credulity or connivance, he should feel that he had no other alternative than to refuse them his confidence—a course, however, which Mr. Disraeli did not propose to take. The forbearance of the Government, who had postponed to the latest period a recourse to war, could not be urged as a charge against them; on the contrary, it proved that there was no precipitation on their part, no desire for war, and the country would for that reason the more readily rally round the Government, and meet war and its sacrifices as a necessity. He justified Lord Clarendon from the charge of misrepresenting facts, and observed that, although it was painful so to speak of a Government like Russia, he was bound to say that though the whole of these negotiations it had exhausted every modification of untruth, concealment, and evasion, and ended with assertions of positive falsehood. (Hear, hear.) Lord Palmerston gave a concise summary of the views which had guided the Government, in particular with relation to the great German Powers, contending that while, on the one hand, they had not been precipitate, they had not shown too much forbearance on the other. But Russia demanded nothing less than the right of sovereignty over 12,000,000 of the Sultan's subjects—a concession which the Government of Turkey was justified in refusing; and the other Powers of Europe, whose duty it was to resist the enormous aggrandizement aimed at by Russia, declared could not be suffered without abandoning the independence of Turkey. It is manifest that if Russia were to appropriate to herself these territories which now lie under the sway of the Sultan, she would become a Power too vast and too gigantic for the safety of the other States of Europe. (Hear.) If she were to bestride the continent from north to south, possessing large naval power both in the Baltic and the Mediterranean, enveloping the whole of Germany, commanding regions full of every natural resource, and a population of enormous extent, she would become dangerous to the liberties of Europe, and her power would be fatal to the independence of the other States. (Cheers.) I say, therefore, it is the duty of the other countries of Europe to prevent such an enormous aggrandizement as that which would result from such a change of possession." Lord Palmerston accepted Mr. Cobden's challenge:—"I was asked by the hon. member for the West Riding (Mr. Cobden) whether I still maintained the assertion I made last session, that there was hardly any country which had, in the same period of time, made such material progress in its internal arrangements as Turkey has done. Sir, I abide by that assertion. (Cheers from both sides of the House.) I am satisfied that any man who looks into the condition of Turkey now and compares it with what it was at the time referred to, will admit the truth and justice of my assertion. It is quite true that Turkey now is far behind England and France, but we are not on this account to forget how much further advanced it is now than it was in the time of Sultan Mahmoud. Any man who knows anything of Turkey will know that in respect to internal navigation, in respect to her army, her navy, and justice or political administration, great and immense progress has been made since that period. (Hear, here.) But Turkey, forsooth, is not worth defending, and does not desire to be defended, because the Christian subjects of the Sultan are not in all respects placed upon the same footing of equality with the Mussulmans. I believe that, legally speaking, the great distinction now between the two races is, that the Christians pay the kharaj, and are exempt from conscription. There is also an inequality as to their evidence in civil cases; but, I believe, in respect to criminal cases they are now placed upon an equality with the Mussulmans. But, sir, if the fact of any race in a country being upon a footing of civil and political inequality is any justification for considering that country as undeserving of independent political existence, what would have been said by the hon. member for the West Riding, if he had lived not very long ago, when there prevailed that penal code in Ireland, which placed our Catholic fellow subjects on a much worse footing than that on which the Christian subjects of the Porte now stand. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) I fancy that in those days, when this country produced many men eminent in all matters of literature and science, they would have been very much surprised if they had been told that they were a set of barbarians, and deserved to be conquered by France in order that the Catholics should be put upon the same footing as the Protestants in this country. (Cheers and laughter.) Well, I say then, that the condition of the Christians is no reason whatever why, upon great political grounds, this country and France—ay, and Austria and Prussia, too—should not combine to maintain the Turkish empire in its present geographical position. (Cheers.) I believe that the internal progress which has commenced in Turkey will be continued, and that the Christian and Mussulman subjects will be placed on the same footing of equality." In looking at the prospects of the approaching conflict, there was no great State, he observed, whose power in external and aggressive operations had been more overrated than Russia. On the other hand, the Turks had shown a vitality which few believed them to possess; what the Russians called "fanaticism" we should call "national spirit." In conclusion, he expressed his confidence that the people of this country would be satisfied that the Government had not involved it recklessly in war, but, if they did think that the present Ministers had shown either the weakness of credulity, or the infamy of connivance, let them take from such Ministers the direction of a war which they would be unworthy to conduct.

Colonel SIBTHORP made a few remarks, when the motion was agreed to, and the House went into Committee of Supply.

On the motion of Mr. J. WILSON, a vote for Ex-

chequer Bills was agreed to; and, on the motion of Sir J. GRAHAM, certain votes for the Navy Estimates were agreed to without discussion.

INCIDENTS OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

In reply to a question put by Mr. DISRAELI, on Thursday, as to the authenticity of the Emperor Napoleon's letter to the Emperor Nicholas, Lord JOHN RUSSELL stated, that the document was authentic, and that her Majesty's Government held themselves responsible for having agreed to such a letter being written, as a laudable endeavour to prevent, if possible, the impending war, although not for every particular word or phrase contained in it.

Questioned by Mr. GAOGAN on Friday, Lord JOHN RUSSELL stated, that he thought, in the case of war, it would be highly inexpedient that the orders given to the fleets or the armies of her Majesty should be communicated to the House. (Cheers.) He conceived that nothing was more likely to disturb and interfere with the success of the operations that were committed to them. (Hear.)

In reply to Mr. COBDEN on Monday, Lord JOHN RUSSELL said that government had come to no decision with reference to the blockade of the commercial ports of Russia.

In reply to Sir J. WALSH, the noble Lord said he had received information some days ago of an insurrectionary movement in Albania; but there is nothing to lead the government to the conclusion that the movement has been fomented by the King of Greece, although some persons, resident in Greece, have been connected with it.

Mr. BRIGHT having inquired respecting the proclamation against the exportation of warlike stores, Mr. WILSON said, that the causes out of which this proclamation had arisen were these.—In the middle of last week, the Commissioners of Customs represented to the Treasury that a large quantity of arms and ammunition were intended to be exported to Odessa, a fact which the Commissioners thought it their duty to represent to the Government. (Cheers.) The Treasury were advised there was but one course to pursue, which was to avail themselves of a clause in the Act of last year, for the Consolidation of the Customs' law, which authorised Government, by order in council or proclamation, to prohibit the exportation of goods of the nature referred to by the hon. member. The Government had already taken steps to empower the Commissioners of Customs not to act upon the proclamation in cases where no objection could properly be made to the exportation. Mr. BRIGHT—Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say that exportation to all countries but Russia will be allowed? Mr. WILSON thought that was not the effect of the statement he had just made. (Cheers.) He would state a case which had just occurred which would put the House in possession of the intentions of the Government on this point. The ship *Gem* was entered out with a freight of machinery, and said to be bound for Alexandria. The Commissioners of Customs asked for evidence as to her destination, and a letter from the agent of the Pacha of Egypt was produced, to prove that these goods were *bona fide* going to Alexandria. On the production of the letter all obstacles to the departure of the vessel were removed. (Cheers.)

THE NEW REFORM BILL.

Mr. BRIGHT on Thursday asked whether the system proposed to be introduced, of representing the minority—(a laugh)—would apply to the City of London as well as to other places; and, secondly, whether, if the representative for the city of London were to die, he was to be represented by his successor? (Laughter.) Lord J. RUSSELL said the same rule would apply to the city of London as to other places; and, although there would be four members, the electors would only have the privilege of voting for three. With respect to the second question, it probably required no answer. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.)

Lord J. RUSSELL subsequently brought up the bill to amend the representation of the people in Parliament, which was read a first time amid considerable cheering, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday, the 13th of March.

On Friday Mr. WARNER inquired whether the proposed £6 borough franchise was to be calculated on the municipal assessment in each case, or whether means would be taken to adjust the great inequalities between the assessment and the actual value which now exist in different boroughs, in many cases under special Acts of Parliament; also how it was proposed to deal with the assessment of compounded property? and whether there would be any change in the mode of voting in places which returned two members. To the first question Lord JOHN RUSSELL asked Mr. WARNER to wait till he had read the clauses of the bill—to the second that there was no intention of making any change in the case of places returning two members. In such places, both members would be returned by the majority.

In reply to Lord STANLEY, Lord JOHN RUSSELL said that it was the intention of the Government to bring in a bill relative to Barnstaple and other places convicted of bribery; but that it was not convenient at the present moment to enter fully into the nature of them. (Hear, hear.)

Lord J. RUSSELL is not sure whether Government will be able to bring in the Scottish and Irish Reform Bills before the 13th of March.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL has moved for a series of returns relating to the county and borough electorate, setting forth the number of £10 occupiers in unrepresented towns, derived from the last Census reports, and illustrating various propositions in the new Reform Bill.

Sir E. DERING gave notice, on Monday, that on the second reading of the bill to amend the representation of the people in England, he should move a resolution to the effect that the state of our foreign relations rendered the present moment inexpedient for the discussion

of measures of Parliamentary Reform. (Cries of "Oh!" and cheers.)

MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE on Thursday asked Lord PALMERSTON whether, since he had issued an order for closing the New Bunhill-fields Burial ground, Islington, on the 31st day of December last, his attention had been called to a notice that had been recently given by the proprietor of that cemetery, to the effect "that, as the ground was required for building purposes, the relatives of persons buried there must remove the bodies within one month." Lord PALMERSTON said that several applications had been made to him on this subject, which had occupied much of his attention. He had carefully looked into the law on the matter, and was of opinion that the present laws gave the Government no adequate power of remedy; and he therefore thought that it would be better to apply to Parliament for a short Act to meet the exigencies of the case.

In reply to Mr. COLLIER, Sir W. MOLESWORTH said that the present constitution of the Board of Health would expire with the present session of parliament, and it would therefore be necessary to bring in a bill to reconstitute it; in that bill he proposed to introduce various alterations with respect to the Board.

Mr. C. FOSTER on Thursday moved for leave to bring in a bill to alter and amend the Truck Act, which, he said, while it struck at collusive contracts, overlooked collusive payments. He explained the chief provisions of the bill, which is similar to one introduced last session by Lord Palmerston. The motion was supported by Mr. PETO. Mr. BRIGHT would not oppose the introduction of the bill, although he did not expect any good from it. Lord PALMERSTON, in conformity to the pledge he gave on withdrawing the bill of last session, supported the motion. As a general principle, he deemed it better to leave parties to arrange among themselves, as best they could, all matters relating to their mutual interests; but cases might arise, in which classes were so dependent upon others as to be unable to take care of their own interests; and it was notorious that, before the introduction of the Truck Act, great abuses were practised. There were difficulties, however, in carrying out the prohibitory regulations of the bill, in the case of works at a considerable distance from any town. These difficulties had led to his withdrawing the bill of last session; and he thought the best course would be to refer the present bill, after the second reading, to a Select Committee. After some further discussion, in which Mr. MUNTZ, Sir H. HALFORD, Mr. M'MAHON, and Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE, took part, leave was given to bring in the bill.

Mr. Serjeant SHEP moved for leave to bring in a bill to provide compensation for improvements made by tenants in Ireland; his object being to set before the House, in the shape of clauses, what he thought would be improvements in the Government measure. He explained the provisions of the bill at some length. It differs from his antecedent bill in providing that compensation may be obtained for main and thorough drainage, and for blasting rocks, done by tenants. Sir J. YOUNG said, under the circumstances, Government would make no objection to the introduction of the bill. Leave was accordingly given.

On the motion for going into a Committee of Supply, on Friday, Captain BOLDBRO moved a declaration that, in the opinion of the House, the resolution of the 8th of April, 1850, relating to the inadequate accommodation provided for Assistant-Surgeons on board her Majesty's ships of war, should be forthwith carried into effect. Sir JAMES GRAHAM assured the House that there had been, on the part of his predecessors, a sincere desire and honest endeavour to carry fairly into effect the resolution referred to; and, having entered into some explanatory statements, he expressed the hope that the motion would not be pressed. Mr. M. CHAMBERS strenuously supported the motion; but, after a discussion of some length, in which Admiral BERKELEY, Mr. NAPIER, Mr. HUME, Mr. STAFFORD, Mr. BRADY, Mr. COWPER, and Captain SCOBELL took part, the House divided: for going into committee, 216; for Colonel Boldbro's motion, 104: majority, 112.

Sir BENJAMIN HALL, in the absence of Mr. Tufnell, on Friday, obtained leave to bring in a bill to abolish the property qualification of members of Parliament.

OPINIONS AND SOCIAL STATE OF THE CHINESE INSURGENTS.

The *North China Herald* has published a very interesting letter from the Rev. Dr. Medhurst, in reference to the condition of the insurgents. The doctor had fallen in with a Canton man, who was for some time a follower of Tae-ping-Wang, and who left Nanking in August last. When questioned as to the religion of the insurgents, he answered with an air of reverence that they worshipped God (Shang-te). When asked when they did it, he replied, "Every day, and previous to every meal." He was then requested to repeat something of what they said, when he chanted the doxology, as it is found in the Book of Religious Precepts of Tae-ping-Wang, in such a tone and manner that showed he was familiar with it. As he had referred to their daily meals, he was asked whether they had sufficient to eat. Abundance, he replied. And whether they had enough to wear. To which he answered, they had plenty of clothing. He was asked, whether he got any pay; to which he replied, not a cash: no pay being dealt out to the troops from one month's end to the other. He was also asked whether he was allowed to enjoy the society of his wife; to which he replied in the negative, adding that the women of Nanking were all kept in a particular quarter of the city, where there were whole streets of them, but that no men were allowed to approach, under pain of death. On a subsequent occasion he was asked whether Tae-ping-Wang actually existed, or whether he was dead, and his image carried about, as some had reported.

He had no doubt that Tae-ping-Wang was a living man; that he frequently went about in a chair, but so shrouded in deep folds of silk, that the common people could not get a glance at him. The highest officers, however, saw him every night, when they went to consult about affairs of state, and to receive his orders. He was asked whether he had ever heard that Tae-ping-Wang had been up to heaven; to which he replied, Certainly. It was commonly reported, and fully believed, among his followers. Recurring to the subject of the soldiers receiving no pay, he was asked whether any of them possessed any property of their own; to which he replied, None whatever, and if more than five dollars are found in the possession of any man, he is immediately bamboozed for not having given it up previously. He was then asked why the men were separated from the women, and when such separation took place? He said, that during all their progress from Kwangsi, the women fought by the side of the men, and conducted themselves as bravely; but when they arrived at Nanking they were separated, because there was no more need for them to engage in warfare. They were, therefore, kept apart, had their various duties to perform, and were engaged for a great part of the time in learning, every band of twenty-five women having an instructress over them. As for the men, they were told it was their business to fight and to work for the present, and when the empire was gained they might enjoy their wives. But how, it was asked, is each one to find his own, when the war is over, among such a multitude? He replied, every man and woman is regularly registered, and there will not be the slightest difficulty in restoring to every man his rightful partner. He was asked whether there were any secret-society men among Tae-ping-Wang's followers, specifying that Teen-te Hwuy, San-hoh Hwuy, Seou-taou Hwuy, and others; when he immediately and distinctly replied that there were none, for Tae-ping-Wang put them to death. Speaking of learning, he was asked what books they learned, to which he replied, none other than the book published by Tae-ping-Wang; all others were burnt. He was then asked whether the books of Confucius were burnt likewise. Being no scholar, he said he could not give a definite answer. He was then asked whether he had ever been to school, and what books he had then learned. He said he had only been to school for about a year, when a boy, and the schoolmaster flogged him so grievously that he ran away. During that year what books did he learn? He said the Ta-hieh and the Chung-yung. Had he ever seen these books at Nanking? Yes, he said, he had seen them, but they were altered. Were books on history permitted? He did not know. What about the books of Buddha? Oh, everything belonging to Buddha and Taou were indiscriminately destroyed; the temples and images smashed all to pieces. As for the priests, they dared not show their faces, and together with gamblers, opium-smokers, and whore-mongers, were scattered to the four winds. He was then asked whether they kept the Sabbath, to which he replied that it was regularly observed; that no work was done on that day except what was necessary. That they all assemble for public worship in large halls, when they knelt down to prayer, and that the chiefs exhorted them. On being asked who the exhorters were, he mentioned, among others, Lai, at Nanking. He knew nothing about baptism or the Lord's supper. He was asked if he had heard much of Jesus; he replied that he had heard his name frequently, but he was not competent to detail what he had heard. He was then asked what was now his settled opinion; he had been for several months with Tae-ping-Wang, and for several months with the Imperialists,—which now, honestly speaking, did he prefer? He looked round, and asked if any one was near, and whether we would accuse him. We replied there was no danger; upon which he exclaimed, with emphasis, I am for Tae-ping-Wang. Why, then, it was asked, did he leave him? "Because," he said, "I had a brother among the Imperialists, and I wanted to see him. In order to accomplish this, I went out secretly; my brother then had my head shaved, and reported that I was a distressed subject of the emperor, who had been deceived into following the insurgents. I was then taken into the pay of the Imperialists, and was afraid to go back, lest I should lose my head." What an extraordinary view does the above present of the insurgent army! What a moral revolution! To induce 100,000 Chinese, for months and years together, to give up opium, lust, and covetousness; to deny themselves in lawful gratifications; and, what is dearer to a Chinaman's heart than life itself, to consent to live without dollars, and all share and share alike, braving death in its worst form, and persevering therein without flinching. There may be defective teaching among them, there may be errors of a greater or less magnitude; but if what is above detailed be true, or the half of it, it is confessedly a moral revolution; it is the wonder of the age.

Another letter from Dr. Medhurst, dated as late as Dec. 14, 1853, has been published, containing further interesting particulars. He states that, on the afternoon of that day, he was preaching in one of the chapels of the London Missionary Society to a large congregation, descending on the folly of idolatry, and urging the necessity of worshipping the one true God, on the ground that he alone could protect his servants, while idols were things of nought, destined soon to perish out of the land—when suddenly a man stood up in the midst of the congregation and exclaimed, That is true—that is true—the idols must perish, and shall perish. I am a Kwangse man, a follower of Tae-Ping-Wang; we all of us worship one God (Shang-te) and believe in Jesus, while we do our utmost to put down idolatry; everywhere demolishing the temples, and destroying the idols, and exhorting the people to forsake these superstitions. When we commenced, two years ago, we were only 3,000 in number, and we have marched from one end of the empire to the other,

putting to flight whole armies of the mandarin troops that were sent against us. If it had not been that God was on our side, we could not have thus prevailed against such overwhelming numbers; but now our troops have arrived at Teen-tsin, and we expect soon to be victorious over the whole empire. He then proceeded to exhort the people, in a most lively and earnest strain, to abandon idolatry, which was only worship of devils, and the perseverance in which would involve them in the misery of hell; while by giving it up, and believing in Jesus, they would obtain the salvation of their souls. As for us, he said, we feel quite happy in the profession of our religion, and look on the day of our death as the happiest period of our existence. When any of our number die, we never weep, but congratulate each other on the joyful occasion, because a brother is gone to glory, to enjoy all the magnificence and splendour of the heavenly world. While continuing here, we make it our business to keep the commandments, to worship God, and to exhort each other to do good; for which end we have frequent meetings for preaching and prayer. He went on to inveigh against the prevailing vices of his countrymen, particularly opium-smoking. But you must be quick, he adds, for Tae-Ping-Wang is coming, and he will not allow the least infringement of his rules—no opium, no tobacco, no snuff, no wine, and no vicious indulgence of any kind. All offences against the commandments of God are punished by him with the severest rigour, while the incorrigible are beheaded—therefore, repent in time. Dr. Medhurst says he was struck with the appearance of the man, as he went on in this earnest strain, bold and fearless as he stood, openly denouncing the vices of the people, his countenance beaming with intelligence, his upright and manly form the very picture of health, while his voice thrilled through the crowd. They seemed petrified with amazement; their natural conscience assured them that his testimony was true, while the conviction seemed to be strong among them that the two great objects of his denunciation, opium and idolatry, were both bad things, and must be given up.

THE FRIENDS' DEPUTATION TO ST. PETERSBURG.

(From the *Birmingham Mercury*.)

Our readers will feel interested in learning that Mr. Joseph Sturge, and the other gentlemen deputed by the Society of Friends to wait upon the Emperor Nicholas, have arrived at their destination, and have probably ere now, fulfilled their mission. Mr. Sturge has communicated to his brother, Mr. Charles Sturge, of this town, some particulars of his progress, and to that gentleman we are indebted for the following details:—We learn that early in the present month the deputation left Riga, a town situated in Russian-Poland, and several hundred miles from St. Petersburg. This distance was traversed by means of sledges; and some conception may be formed of the sort of route they had to take, when we mention that no fewer than 300 horses were employed for the various relays on the road. Mr. Sturge, writing from St. Petersburg, on the 4th of February, describes his journey as having been very satisfactory, and, considering the great amount of snow that had fallen, he and his companions had arrived as soon as they could have expected. On their arrival at the Russian capital, the party first obtained an introduction to a gentleman who had resided in Russia for 40 years, and who it was thought would be of service to them in their delicate mission. The deputation found a report prevalent that all the members of the Royal family, even including the Grand Duke Constantine, were anxious for peace; and as Count Nesselrode, the Chancellor of the Empire, was known from the first to have opposed the war, the gentleman already alluded to recommended the deputation to send the Count a note, requesting an interview. This they did, stating that they had not deemed it advisable to apply to their own Ministers, or to the Ambassador in London; and for the same reasons, they had preferred applying to Count Nesselrode direct, for the purpose of securing his assistance in the presentation of the address to the Emperor. On this letter being delivered, the Count almost immediately sent a messenger, apparently one of his private secretaries, who could speak good English, and fixed an early hour for receiving the deputation. The messenger further stated that he was instructed to render them any service he could. Mr. Sturge states that though the weather has been severe, yet his health has been so far benefited by the journey, even if no other good should result from it. On the 5th of February, Mr. Sturge and his friends were visited by the English Consul, who, though he had but little hope of their success, expressed his belief that the Emperor would receive them. In reference to the war, the British Consul stated to the deputation that the trade of Russia, as far as England is concerned, must be greatly paralyzed by what has taken place. This circumstance is already known to the Emperor, and it was hoped would have its influence with him on the side of peace. On the following day the party learnt that the Emperor was riding out, and consequently that the day of their reception would be thereby postponed. However, just after receiving this intelligence, they had a note from Count Nesselrode, stating that he had been sent for by the Emperor relative to the interview, and intimating his (the Count's) wish to receive them about half-past one o'clock. Accordingly, they waited upon him, and met with a very cordial reception. The Count said he had already spoken to the Emperor upon the subject, who had expressed his willingness to appoint a day for giving an audience. In answer to a question by Mr. Pease, the Count said that it was very likely the heir apparent would be present. The deputation then read the address they had been deputed to present, and he (the Count) replied that both himself and the Emperor sympathized with the sentiments it contained. The deputation then retired, after leaving a French

translation of the address for the perusal of the Emperor. The above details we have been enabled to glean from some correspondence that arrived in England on Tuesday last, and we learn that another letter has arrived, dated Saturday, the 11th inst., but up to that period the party had not been summoned before the Emperor. However, they were in daily expectation of learning his Majesty's pleasure. We may add, that Mr. Sturge describes the frost as exceedingly intense, the temperature being one morning at five degrees Fahrenheit. However, the houses are so secured with double windows, and other means used to exclude the cold, that he was not sensible of the change of temperature until going out of the domicile. Sunday is very little observed by the great body of the people. The places of worship were all opened, as also were a number of shops; while, on the same day, there was a sledge-race on the frozen Neva, to which some thousands of persons resorted. Mr. Sturge adds, that there is an Episcopalian place of worship, and also one belonging to the Independents.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE DWELLINGS OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

A public meeting of merchants, traders, and bankers of the city of London was held on Saturday at the London Tavern, for the purpose of considering the best method of extending the operation of the Metropolitan Association, established some years since, for the purpose of improving the dwellings of the industrious classes. The association has recently purchased an eligible piece of land in the Borough, near London-bridge, capable of accommodating upwards of 100 families; and has also another piece of land in Spitalfields, in which accommodation will be provided for 150 more families. Mr. F. Baring, M.P., presided, and was supported by the Marquis of Stafford, Lord R. Grosvenor, M.P., and many other gentlemen of eminence at Westminster or in the City. A letter was read from Lord John Russell, subscribing for two £25 shares. Mr. Hubbard (Governor of the Bank of England), Mr. Prescott, Mr. Cotton, Mr. T. Hankey, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Morley, and Mr. G. W. Alexander, were among the speakers; as were also Lord Radstock, Viscount Ebrington, and Lord Stanley. The last-named noble lord said, in the course of an interesting speech—It was a wise and true saying, and well worth being remembered by those who thought that while other pursuits required skill and study, philanthropy required none—that while charity created the distress it relieved, it could not always relieve the distress it created. (Hear, hear.) It was also said to be as dangerous a thing for a man to practice philanthropy without previous consideration as to practice physic without study. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) When a man received a gift in the way of charity, he had to pay dearly in a moral, if not in a material sense, for what he received. If he was a proud, honest, independent, self-reliant character,—and such, happily, were the great mass of their labouring classes—he must necessarily feel humiliation at having lost his self-dependence. If he were a person of easy temperament, then the danger was—and perhaps it was a more serious evil—that, finding it easy to beg and hard to work, he became more and more degenerate and improvident. (Hear, hear.) Now this association gave nothing to any man, and no lodger felt that he was accepting any favour when he entered one of these houses. It was simply a fair and equal bargain between man and man, and there was no sacrifice of independence on either side. They got a fair return for their capital, and the workman got a better quality of lodging. It was therefore founded upon strictly commercial principles. It was asked, if this institution were self-supporting, how did they undertake to undersell the ordinary lodging-house proprietors. He took it that the advantages they relied upon for the permanence and stability of the association were, that in the first place they had a larger capital than any individual owner of house property. That necessarily involved a reduction of expenditure. There was also a difficulty in completing the tenure of houses, but they swept away all intermediate parties, and let directly to the lodgers. Third, a great part of the expense of lodgings in large towns arose from the ground-rents being high. In the model lodging-houses a much larger number of persons were accommodated within the same space, and consequently a large amount of ground-rent was saved. Lastly, they reckoned upon attracting to their houses a more respectable and more solvent class of tenants, and ran less risk as to the receipt of their rents. He might refer to the working of a similar plan upon a larger scale under the Imperial Government in Paris, where 60,000 labourers were at work, and it was generally believed by those acquainted with the subject that this vast undertaking would pay. (Hear.) It was unnecessary to trouble the meeting with the fearful details of the manner in which a portion of the working classes are lodged in that great metropolis; but he remembered reading that, in a small lane near Oxford-street, there were 461 persons lodged in four houses, giving to each one-seventh less air than was awarded to the felons in the gaols. It was a disgrace to the age in which they lived. (Cheers.)

Lord EBRINGTON mentioned, that out of a rental of £15,000, the whole of the bad debts had not amounted to £40, and he doubted whether any landlord in London could make such a statement as that. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. A. CAMPBELL said, before the resolution was put, he wished to state that he had been all his life intimately connected with the industrious classes, and he ventured to say that there was no subject the working men were so deeply interested in as the obtaining comfortable dwellings, convenient to the places where they were employed. He believed also that the working classes themselves would be quite willing to contribute their money to this object, and it was well known that

they were enabled to raise large sums of money by mutual co-operation. The workmen connected with the building trades would, he had no doubt, be foremost in lending their pecuniary aid to an object which, while benefiting themselves, would be a safe and profitable investment of their savings. (Hear.)

A WORKING MAN in the body of the meeting also stated that he had received a letter from the persons occupying the association's houses, expressing their gratitude for the comforts they enjoyed.

Postscript.

LAST NIGHT'S PARLIAMENT.

THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD EDUCATION BILL.

In the House of Commons almost the entire evening was occupied in the discussion of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill, which had been introduced as a private bill. Mr. ADDERLEY, in moving the second reading of the bill, stated that its object was to enable the rate-payers of Manchester to rate themselves to a common fund, to be distributed proportionably among the existing schools. In supporting the bill he entered somewhat deeply into the general system of education.

Mr. M. GIBSON moved, by way of amendment, a resolution "that education to be supported by public rates is a subject which ought not to be dealt with by any private bill." He warned the House against committing itself in this indirect manner to a principle of national education.

The LORD-ADVOCATE said, although this measure by no means came up to his abstract idea of the measure required, the wants of the country in regard to education were so great that he would not throw any obstacle in its way.

Sir G. GRAY considered that this bill could not be allowed to remain in the category of a private bill, the principle involved in it having a general (though not universal) application to a very large municipal constituency.

After a few words from Mr. NAPIER, Mr. G. HAR-COURT, Mr. WIGRAM, and Mr. HUME, Lord JOHN RUSSELL observed, that if the bill had been introduced as a public bill, it would have been stopped by objections, in point of form; on the other hand, the community of Manchester were not agreed in their support of the measure as a private bill, conceiving that it should not be carried on at their private expense. The resolution proposed by Mr. Gibson was an abstract resolution, which the House, he thought, ought not to support. He entered at some length into an exposition of his own views regarding a general system of national instruction, showing the impediments in the way of the Government taking up the subject. He thought that, although he could not vote for the resolution, the House could hardly entertain this bill after the Town Council of Manchester had objected to it, as a private bill, on the ground of expense.

Mr. J. PHILLIMORE supported the bill, which was opposed by Mr. W. J. FOX, who considered that it was intended to prolong, extend, and endow, by a public rate, an inefficient system of education—namely, the denominational system.

Sir J. PAKINGTON hoped that this important bill would not be pushed aside upon a mere formal point. Its principle was, that education ought to be universal and religious, but that religious teaching ought to be given on the fairest and most tolerant system; to this principle he gave his cordial concurrence, and he had come to the conclusion that, to support a popular system of education in our large towns, recourse must be had to an education rate. He declared (as Lord J. Russell had done) his hostility to the secular system.

Mr. BAROET said, there never was such a proposition as that before the House—for reading a bill called an Education Bill, which, under the guise of a private bill, sought to tax the ratepayers of Manchester to the extent of £40,000 or £50,000 a-year, which was opposed by the unanimous vote of the corporation, and could not consequently work otherwise than by importing into the town the evils of a Church-rate. He suggested that this bill should be withdrawn, and that a general measure should be brought in giving a permissive power to corporations to apply its provision according to the exigencies of each.

After some remarks from Mr. HENLEY and Mr. PATTEN, Mr. PETO opposed the bill, believing the voluntary principle in education was all the country could require.

Mr. T. CHAMBERS and Mr. E. BALL supported the bill.

Mr. WALPOLE opposed the bill, though he dissented from the amendment.

Mr. MIALI, after some remarks on the impropriety of discussing this momentous question upon the narrow

basis of a private bill, said he would avail himself of that opportunity, with the permission of the House, to put it into the possession of the opinions of those who entertained what were called "voluntary principles":—

"Much had been said about education, and it had been divided into three classes—first, charitable education; secondly, education by means of public rates; and thirdly, no education at all. But no real statement had been made of the true principles to be enforced on this subject. He had read, a few days since, the report of the Committee for the Improvement of the Dwellings of the Labouring Poor, and he thought that if a statistical return of such were made, it would be of great advantage, and would go far to prove that proper provision had not been made for the poor; but he should never think, on that account, of coming to the conclusion that Parliament ought to provide suitable habitations for the poor. (Hear, hear.) But it was said—Who put the one burden on the shoulders of Government if you did not put the other? and why put such a charge upon Government at all, since the primary duty of education devolved, no doubt, upon the people themselves, who should, and in the majority of cases could, provide such for their children? The fact was, that the fault generally might be traced to the parents of the children, who, in many cases made gain of them by getting them employed in factories and workshops; and until the disposition of parents in this respect was reformed little improvement could be made. Most parents among the lower orders could, by giving up a portion of their beer a-day, find the means of giving their children some education; and it was, in fact, the want of will in the parents to send their children to school which was the great drawback to all measures of improvement of this kind. If those who supported this measure could be brought to see this, and to correct it, there was little doubt that the supply of education would be quite equal to the demand. (Hear, hear.) He would ask the promoters of the present bill—would their scheme bring about such a result? and if not, he did not see how they could, call upon the State to make a scheme operative, without first satisfying the country that it would be effective. (Cheers.) If the House were to adopt the system of education proposed by this bill, they would be reducing the high science into a system of police, and degrading education in the eyes of the people. (Hear, hear.) What they (the volunteers) said was, let the State make provision for the destitute, to whom the State might stand in the place of a parent, but do not undermine the self-reliance of the people. (Hear, hear.) They talked of enlarging the basis of representation; let them beware, then, lest the people, instead of relying on themselves, should rely on legislative means, and come not only for education, but clothing and for decent habitations also. (Hear, hear.) If the house once admitted this principle, they must carry it to the full extent. (Hear, hear.)"

The HOUSE OF LORDS sat but a short time last night.

In the HOUSE OF COMMONS, in reply to Mr. S. KNOX Sir J. YOUNG stated that inquiries instituted upon the subject had resulted in negating the report that certain Irish Roman Catholic priests had from the altars of their chapels endeavoured to prevent recruits from enlisting in the army.

Mr. FAGAN's motion on Minister's Money (Ireland), referred to elsewhere, was interrupted by the education debate last night, and is now down for to-morrow. We understand that the Government intend to evade it by moving, as an amendment, that the acts relating to Ministers' Money and the Irish Church Temporalities Act be now read?

MEETING OF LIBERAL MEMBERS ON THE REFORM BILL.

Yesterday a large and influential meeting of the friends of Reform, convened by Mr. HUME, was held in Committee-room No. 12, in order to consider what line of policy should be adopted with reference to the bill now before parliament for amending the representation of the country. A very considerable number of members obeyed the summons of the veteran reformer, and amongst others the following hon. gentlemen were present:—Mr. Hume, Mr. W. Williams, Sir Joshua Walmsley, Sir J. V. Shelley, Lord Goderich, Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, Mr. W. Brown, Mr. Keating, Captain Scobell, Mr. C. Forster, Mr. Hadfield, Mr. W. A. Wilkinson, Mr. Biggs, Mr. J. W. Fox, the Hon. A. Kininaird, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Hastie (Glasgow), Mr. Phinn, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Vivian, Mr. Russell, Sir James Anderson, Mr. Crook, Mr. Butler, Mr. Crook, Mr. L. Heywood, the Hon. H. Berkeley (Bristol), Mr. Thornely, Mr. Coffin, Mr. Loftus Bland, Mr. J. G. Phillimore, Mr. Lee, Mr. J. B. Smith, Mr. Apsley Pellatt, Mr. Francis Souilly, Mr. Kershaw, Mr. Alcock, &c., &c.

Mr. HUME said that, no doubt the Ministerial scheme of reform possessed many faulty details; but, for his own part, he should recommend the Liberal party, even if they should be unable to procure those modifications which seemed to them desirable, to support it as a whole rather than run any risk of endangering the bill by insisting too pertinaciously upon what they conceived would be improvements.

A very long discussion then commenced with respect to the provisions of Lord John Russell's bill, the merits of which were frankly admitted, while the more questionable portions were minutely criticised. Many objections were taken to several of its details; but the greatest stress was laid upon what was termed the minority clause, which was strenuously opposed by many of the honourable gentlemen present. Another point in which the bill was also strongly felt to require alteration were the provisions regulating the franchise by the "rating." It was considered that the word should be altered to "rental," both as regarded the town and the country voters; and it was also thought that the period of residence required of the £6 householders in boroughs to entitle them to the franchise was very long. Some hon.

gentlemen present complained that the metropolitan boroughs had not received their fair share of attention, and expressed a strong opinion that they were entitled to a larger proportion of new seats in the redistribution of the public representation. Much disappointment was also felt that a measure professing to reform the mode of returning members to the House of Commons should contain no mention whatever of the ballot.

With respect to the new franchises and the contemplated disfranchisements, the universal feeling was one of entire satisfaction; and all present agreed to support both proposals—both of them calling forth a strong expression of approval. The probable results of Lord John Russell's measure were discussed at some length, and there was some diversity of opinion as to the extent to which the constituencies of the country were likely to be enlarged. On this point several members expressed a confident opinion, founded upon letters received from their own constituents and other persons who had a practical acquaintance with the different localities, to the effect that the increase would in many boroughs be equal to one-third of the present number of voters. The probable increase in the county constituencies by the enfranchisement of the £10 householders had been shown by the returns recently moved for by Sir J. Walmsley to be about 400,000, exclusive of those who would also be placed upon the registers by the other new county qualifications.

On the whole, therefore, it was unanimously resolved, after a discussion of three hours, to support the second reading of the bill; and it was agreed that another meeting should be taken with regard to the minority clause, respecting which a strong feeling prevailed.

Mr. BROTHERTON recommended that the second reading should be postponed to give time to modify the bill, so as to render it acceptable, and that then it should be passed for a limited period as an experiment.

Mr. GIBSON having altered his amendment by inserting the words "at the present time," after "ought not," the House divided, when the amendment was carried by 105 to 76.

THE WAR.

Sir James Graham has officially intimated that it is not the intention of Government to resort to any compulsory measures for manning the navy.

By advices from St. Petersburg of the 11th inst., we learn that Sir Hamilton Seymour had not yet left, nor even communicated his recall; though General Castlebajac has arrived in Paris. The Emperor Nicholas had been suffering from erysipelas, and was said to be in a state of great irritation and excitement, which rendered him inaccessible to the advice of his oldest ministers. He is said to be greatly enraged at the answer returned by Prussia. Prince Paskiewitch is summoned from Warsaw to St. Petersburg. The utmost activity prevailed in every department of the Government, and preparations for war are made on the most extensive scale. From the frontier of Poland we learn that the troops in the Russian fortresses in that kingdom have been marched to the seat of war, and their place supplied by Cossacks.

Telegraphic intelligence received in Vienna states that Russia rejects the Austrian proposition for further intervention communicated to Count Orloff. The Emperor of Austria has distinctly intimated his determination not to assent to the arrangements for the neutrality of Germany projected by the Saxon and Bavarian Governments at the instigation of Russia.

Accounts of the rumoured insurrection on the borders of Albania, Macedonia, and Thessaly, are not very reliable. One report sets down the insurgents at 40,000—another at 6,000 men. It is said that a British squadron is to sail from Corfu to protect the Albanian coast. The Turkish troops from the Montenegrin frontier were marching thither.

The Prince of Serbia has not been to Vienna, but only to the head-quarters of General Coronini, the commander of the Austrian troops in the Banat. According to the Vienna papers the object of this visit was to concert measures for assuring the neutrality of Serbia under all eventualities. The same papers state that to Ethem Pasha, the bearer of the firman to Belgrade, the Prince of Serbia has notified that he cannot consider himself freed from the Russian protectorate by the mere act of the Porte.

By intelligence dated Bucharest, February 17th, we hear that troops are concentrated in great numbers by the Russians at Giurgevo and Oltenitza, and by the Turks at Rustschuk and Turtukai, as if a passage of the Danube were intended or expected.

The Shipping Gazette reports that two Russian frigates are cruising off Madeira.

The Irish Court of Exchequer have set aside the verdict in the case of Dowling v. Lawler, with which Mr. Sadleir's name has been connected.

A Cabinet Council was held yesterday at the Foreign Office, and sat two hours.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK LANE.—WEDNESDAY, FEB. 22, 1854.

We have to report an improved tone in our market to-day. Wheat and Oats being held for more money: other articles fully as dear as on Monday. Arrivals since Monday:—Wheat, English, 1,070 qrs., Foreign, 4,610 qrs., Barley, English, 2,710 qrs., Foreign, 4,880 qrs., Oats, English, 180 qrs., Irish, 3,370 qrs., Foreign, 3,840 qrs., Flour, English, 1,250 sacks, Foreign, 151 sacks, 1700 lbs.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"James Harcourt." Neither the Burial Act of last session, nor the General Board of Health Act, compels the provision of new parochial or other cemeteries, though the last-named act requires conformity to certain regulations in the case of new grounds of whatever kind. There is, therefore, nothing to prevent the establishment of a joint-stock in lieu of a parochial cemetery.

We have received several communications we would gladly have inserted, had the exigencies of space permitted.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1854.

SUMMARY.

THE newspaper being a reflection of passing events, we fear that our columns will for some time to come be monopolised, as they are to-day, with the exciting but dangerous details of warlike discussions, preparations, and deeds, rather than with those questions of social and political reforms which more frequently challenge our attention. Lord Aberdeen spoke but too truly when he remarked: "War in itself is the cause of many calamities to mankind; but it is an additional misfortune that it should interfere with the progress of every social improvement, and with all those measures which most conduce to the welfare of the country." We must now, alas! speak of war as a certainty rather than a contingency. Lord Clarendon's expression—"drifting towards war," scarcely defines our present position. We are in a state of undeclared war. The spirit of the great debate in our House of Commons, may be said to be epitomised by the official French organ in announcing that the answer of the Emperor Nicholas to the Emperor Napoleon is unfavourable, and "destroys all chance of a pacific solution." The Czar "declares that he can only enter into a negotiation on the bases which he has made known," and is said to have responded to Louis Napoleon's warnings by the declaration:—"I have the firm confidence that my troops will reply in the same manner as they replied in 1812." He has also, it appears, rejected the last Austrian proposition for intervention, made through Count Orloff; and, in a state of gloomy isolation, borne down by illness, as well as, perhaps, by a sense of responsibility, awaits that declaration of war which himself almost superstitiously refrains from making.

That the two Western Powers will shortly take that step scarcely admits of a doubt. In fact, the proclamation in last Friday's *Gazette*, forbidding the exportation of gunpowder and machinery, may be regarded as the precursor of a formal declaration of hostilities. Preparations on both sides of the Channel are unremitting. This day, the Guards, the van of the British contingent of 25,000 men, embark at Southampton, and probably before their arrival in the Mediterranean the French troops intended for the East will have been dispatched. Whether the destination of this force be the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the Bay of Varna, or the Crimea, is only matter of surmise; but it is to be remarked that Omar Pasha is already moving his reserves from Sophia to a more advanced position on the banks of the Danube—under the impression, no doubt, that he is safe in the rear.—Amid the unhealthy excitement which ever ushers in a commencing war, Ministers have wisely laid before the country their bill of charges. It will be seen that the total increase of expense for the three services—army, navy, and ordnance—is about two millions and a quarter. The money market is surprised at the smallness of the extra demand upon the pockets of her Majesty's liege subjects. But we fear this is only a first instalment. Lord John Russell has already rounded the sum off to three millions, but emphatically warns his countrymen that the approaching contest will not only require considerable efforts, but entail upon them "burdens greater than they have had to sustain

during a time when we were at peace with all the world." "If they are not prepared to bear those burdens," he adds, "let them not enter into the war."

Lord Palmerston describes "the chance of the Emperor of Russia as entirely desperate." "With England and France acting as supporters of Turkey, with the opinion of the whole of Europe opposed to the Emperor of Russia, who will have not a single ally to support him in his career of injustice, I have no doubt as to what must be the result." It is quite possible that our Home Secretary underrates the resources of his antagonist. We learn from the Blue Book, that in January he possessed an army of 150,000 men in the Caucasus, which will probably for some time prove more than a match for the undisciplined Turkish troops in that region; and Sebastopol is reported to be too strongly defended for an attack by sea. One of his best cards is the fomenting of an insurrection in Turkey. An outbreak has already occurred in Albania, and the insurgents, supported by the sympathy and aid of King Otho's subjects, are said to be in considerable force, and with the tacit sanction of the Court of Athens. A general insurrection at the present moment would be most embarrassing to the Porte and its allies, and perhaps prevent that extension of the rights of the Christian population, which is so much desired by the English people and Government. It deserves, also, to be borne in mind by those who are enthusiastic as to the results of the impending war, that in inverse proportion to the hearty co-operation of Austria and Prussia with the Western Powers, will be the chances of exacting such terms from Russia as will secure the independence of Turkey and prevent future aggression. With Austria for an ally, our Government will look well after the refugees.

The Liberal members of the House of Commons, to the number of about fifty, met yesterday to deliberate on their course in relation to the New Reform Bill. They were appropriately convened and presided over by Mr. Hume, and unanimously adopted his advice,—to vote for the second reading, reserving efforts at improvement for committee. But this result was not arrived at, it appears, without protracted deliberation; and it was resolved to hold a second meeting for the fuller discussion of the representation-of-minorities project.

This is the only formal attempt of which we have heard at eliciting or directing opinion upon the bill. Beyond its intermittent discussion in the newspapers, there is no sign of public interest in its provisions or its fate. The working-men are the only class with whom politics are more than an occasional interest; and they will hardly care for a measure that cares nothing for them. Wherever it is talked of, the talk is of something unintelligible. Thus far, examination has only served to perplex, and inquiry been treated as impertinent. Mr. Bright's very proper question to Lord John Russell, for instance, is resented by a Whig organ in a sentence as unintelligible as the measure it champions. We copy it, letter for letter, and point for point:—

"We do not know any member, whose whole mode of being is more urgently suggestive of the expediency of some scheme for eliciting from popular election results less explosive than the undiluted multiplication of men like themselves in Parliament—than Mr. Bright's."—*Globe*, Friday.

Pleasant weather,—the downward tendency of prices of food and other necessities—and the probability of an early termination, by compromise, of the Preston strike,—would make a cheerful paragraph of general news; but gloom is brought to the heart by tidings of another and most terrible explosion, at the Ince-hall Colliery, near Wigan. Some hundred and twenty lives lost! eighty-six dead bodies having been already recovered from the huge grave into which a vast cave of industry was suddenly converted. Carburetted hydrogen is the name of the invisible power that in a moment revealed itself by thunder, fire, and ruin; but by what hand it was loosed, we shall probably never know. An inquest on the dead, subscriptions for the desolated living, laments over the disaster,—and all but the quiet suffering of a hundred households, will be over.

NOTES FROM THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE Session which the public generally imagined would open stormily, has hitherto proved as quiet as the most pacific could desire. It has, contrary to all anticipation, "come in," not "as a lion," but "as a lamb." How it may "go out," we will not take upon us to predict. There is certainly a little cloud on the horizon, which may, perhaps, by the 13th of March, have grown into formidable proportions, and assumed a menacing hue. But as yet, or, at least, until Friday night, not a breath of opposition could be felt. Independent members, therefore, have had an easy time of it—short sittings, little excitement, and early hours. Of course, such lightness of work cannot be expected to last long—and even already we seem to have

reached the extreme limits of so delectable a region. Wednesday, it is true, was all but a holiday, the business having been got through in half-an-hour. Thursday was rather more fully occupied, and deserves a higher place than the fag-end of an introductory paragraph.

On Thursday, then, Sir Fitzroy Kelly submitted his measure for the extinction of bribery. It is rumoured, no doubt ill-naturedly, that the subject is one with which he has been conversant, and that if any member of the House ought to know how to track the windings, and estop the doublings, of that political offence, he ought. Rumour, it may be supposed, has done the hon. and learned gentleman great injustice, for, assuredly, his tone throughout his speech was that of an unspotted purist. We know not whether the fact that he is a consummate advocate ought to make any abatement in the force of this observation—for, unhappily, the manner of most of the lawyers in the House, even when they are most animated, is suggestive of a suspicion that they are not in earnest. At any rate, Sir F. Kelly evinced no superfluous feeling, while he acquitted himself of his task with high intellectual respectability. His scheme for the prevention of bribery, placed side by side with Lord John's, shows more elaboration, but does not promise more efficiency. Into the details of it we shall not now enter—it may be described as an attempt to put down electoral corruptions by a general system of oath-taking. The thing is about as feasible as confining an offensive smell by means of garden-netting. One suggestion, however, of the learned ex-Attorney-General was valuable—that which would enable a timid voter to give his vote without leaving his house. It is instructive to remark the pains taken by the leaders of both political parties to ignore the ballot, and the bootless ingenuity they display to discover for it some more pretentious and less effective substitute. Her Majesty's Government offered no opposition to the introduction of the bill, and scarcely any comment was made on its provisions.

Mr. Foster, member for Berwick, then asked leave to bring in a bill for the amendment of the Truck Act, a motion which was ably seconded by Mr. Peto. It seems that, in the iron districts, "tommy shops" are by no means unfrequent, and it is alleged, we have no doubt with truth, that they are made the means of defrauding the workmen of their hire. The evil is great—the grievance, in some instances, intolerable—but that it can be put down by legislation is not so clear. Experience, hitherto, has not led to any such conclusion. A smart discussion on the question ensued, conducted, however, with candour and good-feeling; and after a speech from Lord Palmerston, the conclusion of which (unless we misapprehended him) contradicted the opening, on a matter of fact, the motion was agreed to without a division. The business of the night was concluded by a long speech from Serjeant Shee, to a thin and not very attentive House, introductory to his bill for Tenant's Compensation in Ireland, and the House adjourned about half-past eleven o'clock.

On Friday, matters took a livelier and more important turn. The Navy Estimates were to be brought forward, and Mr. Layard had given notice of calling the attention of the House, on the question that the Speaker leave the chair, to the conduct of her Majesty's Ministers on the Eastern question. The galleries, consequently, were crowded, several having waited for the chance of a good seat from twelve o'clock till four. The House, too, was exceedingly well attended at an early hour. Petitions having been presented and questions asked, the clerk proceeded to read "the orders of the day." The first which stood on the list was "Supply," whereupon the Speaker put the question, "That I do now leave the chair." There were six notices of amendments on this motion, of which Mr. Layard's stood last. Captain Boldero had the first place, and he rose accordingly to make some motion concerning the treatment of surgeons in the Navy. A considerable number of members took advantage of the interlude, to get fresh air, or to renew the strength of the outer man. A short debate and a division ensued, which latter fact gave the right of precedence to the first member who should catch the Speaker's eye after the announcement of the numbers. Mr. Layard did so, and was called upon to proceed.

The hon. member for Aylesbury is still a young man—being three years short of forty. He has a most pleasant aspect, and agreeable manners. His delivery is somewhat rapid, and his elocution animated. Perhaps he was a little nervous on Friday night, but if so, he so far mastered himself as to retain his presence of mind. The only defect noticeable in his speaking, is the habit of dropping his voice, at the end of his most emphatic sentences, to a whisper, in consequence of which he was inaudible at times to more than half the House. His speech was one of great ability—his analysis of the blue books was keen and searching—his deep devotion to the Porte, evidently the result of grateful recollections, did honour to his heart—but we must add that his desire to cast censure on the ministry was too manifest from first to last,

Some of his arguments were pushed to an absurd extreme, and the *animus* which pervaded his speech was rather that of an eager advocate than of a dispassionate judge. He was replied to by Sir James Graham, who was not so happy as usual. He was slow, heavy, and occasionally embarrassed. But he made some good points, and, on the whole, offered a substantial defence. Lord Jocelyn followed in support of Mr. Layard, but did not add greatly, we thought, to the strength of his position. Lord Dudley Stuart wearied the House with a long repetition of arguments familiar to every member present, and said but little of what the House would have been glad to hear—his personal observations of Turkey, and her condition during his recent tour. Mr. Roebuck then rose, and was warmly greeted. He spoke but briefly, but he hit the right nail on the head. He justified the ministry for their backwardness to risk a European war, but he asked for explicit information with regard to their future intentions. His voice, enfeebled by long illness, was yet clear, and, as absolute silence reigned through the House, he was distinctly heard, and was pretty generally responded to.

And now Lord John Russell rose. Most of our readers will have already perused his speech. The enunciation of it gave us a new idea of the noble lord's power. He spoke in the tone of a great statesman boldly confronting a fearful peril. His countenance, his gestures, his voice, and the very construction of his periods, betokened an unusual elevation of the inner man. One could easily gather that his last hopes of peace had been dashed aside. But he stood there without quailing. He had measured his responsibility, and was ready to assume it. Now, let the lawless autocrat of the North beware. He had provoked a contest, and he must abide the consequences. Great Britain and France would no longer tolerate his aggressive spirit, but would compel the disturber to respect the law of Europe. Lord John produced an immense impression on the House, and, as he resumed his seat, acclamations from both sides attested the triumph he had achieved. Great must have been Mr. F. Crossley's moral courage to stand up in the very midst of that excitement, and, in spite of the hubbub occasioned by a rush of members from the House, to utter a few pertinent sentences vindicatory of a peace policy. He did so, however, and won respect by his gallantry, even from many who differed with him in sentiment. Mr. Cobden moved the adjournment of the debate, which, after a few words from Mr. Disraeli, was assented to.

On Monday evening, accordingly, the discussion was resumed, in a full House. Physically, we should say, Mr. Cobden was not completely in trim—for his delivery struck us as painful to himself, and less pleasant than usual to the House. Intellectually, he was even stronger than usual. He spoke for an hour and a half—he commonly contents himself with less than an hour. His line of argument went directly in the teeth of the prevailing excitement and prejudices, and it is little to be wondered at, therefore, that he should have elicited cheers only from the few who think with him. But his power was attested by the spell-bound silence of the House. Every face was turned towards him—all eyes were fixed upon him—and, however unpopular might have been the drift of his observations, he fastened, at the very outset, on the attention of his audience, and increased their interest up to the close. The contrast was most striking when he sat down, and Lord John Manners rose to reply to him. From both sides there was the hurrying of members towards the lobby, until half the assembly had disappeared, and, during a considerable portion of the noble lord's address, the hum of conversation was loud enough to suggest a suspicion that you might be "on 'Change." Mr. Horsman broke silence, after his long indisposition, in vindication, and very able vindication, of the cautious and forbearing policy of the Government during the progress of negotiations on this Eastern Question. Nor ought we to forget Mr. Drummond—quaint, fantastic, original, and instructive as ever—couching questionable sentiments, and wise suggestions, in witty aphorisms. Mr. Sidney Herbert opened in a clumsy and embarrassed strain, but became interesting before he closed. The speech of the night was Disraeli's—and it evinced the speaker's high intellectual power in connection with a selfish littleness of purpose. It was his aim to damage the Ministry by showing that their counsels had been divided, and by fastening on them the alternative charge of "credulity" or "connivance." At this he laboured for two hours and a half; and ingeniously forged a consistent chain of reasoning which had the merit of convincing every listener that—he was a clever man. Yet, it was evident enough, that the speaker was not happy—for more than an hour he was as prosy and dull as such a man can be—and it seemed transparent that even his assumed enthusiasm on behalf of the Turk was only got up as a telling point against the Administration. Lord Palmerston briefly answered him, travelled over the old familiar line of defence which Ministers have

taken up, and left Cobden unanswered and Disraeli almost unnoticed. It appeared as if he was well content to leave some of his colleagues to smart under castigation. After a few sentences from Colonel Sibthorp—in which the gallant colonel of militia, with nasal twang and thickness of enunciation, paid his especial and flattering compliments to the noble Home Secretary—the House went into Committee, and voted the two leading items of the navy estimates; Sir James Graham's preliminary statement having been deferred to another day, in consequence of the lateness of the hour. It was two o'clock a.m. when the House adjourned.

Last night the House was occupied from five o'clock till midnight in the discussion of a private bill—a fact unprecedented, we believe, in Parliamentary history. The Manchester and Salford Education Bill stood for second reading, and a notice of amendment was on the paper to the effect that education, supported by a public rate, ought not to be dealt with as a private measure. The discussion embraced the whole question of education, and the leading representatives of all the shades of opinion on the subject spoke. The debate was interesting, and, for the first time, perhaps, the Voluntaries got both the facts and the philosophy of their position fairly stated to Parliament. Notwithstanding the shuffling course of the Government, which provoked the censure of all parties, the bill was thrown out by a considerable majority.

THE BLUE-BOOKS IN THE LIGHT OF DEBATE.

THE safest of the many various positions taken up by speakers in the great debate on the Eastern question correspondence, was that of the constitutional right and duty of Parliament to discuss the question before acting upon it,—the unhappiest of Ministerial blunders, the denying, or seeming to deny, that right and duty. Mr. Layard is entitled to thanks, if for nothing else, for having exposed to the searching light of debate that ponderous "accumulation of solemn trifling" (to use Mr. Disraeli's phrase), which Ministers, however conscious of their general rectitude, had ample reason for wishing should escape too keen analysis. There is nothing to compare, as an intellectual entertainment, with such an analysis as the House of Commons can perform, by its party leaders and its independent individualities—the searching scrutiny by which latent facts are detected, the relentless severity with which they are exhibited, the shouts of triumph evoked by the mouthpiece of a "side," the air of proud humility with which a minority of one vindicates his right to differ and extorts, applause when he fails to persuade. But we believe that something better than intellectual entertainment may be got out of the recent debate on the momentous questions, Why are we at war? and for what?

Perhaps the only absolute novelty of the debate was, the proof elicited by Mr. Cobden, from facts furnished by Ministers themselves, of the internal condition of Turkey. The newspapers have, we believe, without exception, omitted from their abstracts these parts of the Blue-books; and no previous speaker had referred to them, or only hastily. The House was reminded, by the Member for the West Riding, of Lord Palmerston's declaration, at the close of last session, that Turkey had made greater progress during the last thirty years than any other country,—and was then treated to despatches in which Lord Palmerston's colleague (Lord Clarendon) instructs Lord Stratford to warn the Sultan and his ministers of the "natural consequences of their unwise policy and reckless mal-administration;" to despatches in which Lord Stratford reports, that to his urgent recommendation of internal improvement, "the answer was one of acquiescence, but not, I think, such as I was entitled to expect;" and to other despatches in which renewed warnings from Downing-street are met by renewed reports from Pera of oppression, rebellion, anarchy, and indifference. So copious were these quotations, and over so long a period did they stretch—coming down even to the last day of the last year—that the most diligent detractor of Turkey cannot but have felt that he had been surpassed and superseded by the Foreign Secretary of the Government which proclaims war for the maintenance of Turkish integrity.

There were also disclosed indications that the Government—at least the majority of its members, for Lord Palmerston's reiteration of his eulogy on Ottoman progress entitles him to exception—persevered in negotiations up to the limit of public forbearance, partly from this disbelief of Turkish vitality; and were glad of an occasion for shifting the ground of their alliance with her. They allege, in defence of their abstinence from hasty hostilities, that every month employed in negotiation helped to arm Turkey for a war in which she must have otherwise gone down at the first blow; and events justify their policy in this respect. But it is also clear that they were reluctant to draw the sword for a nation which

they had described—through Mr. Gladstone, as well as Lord Clarendon—by nearly every form of depreciatory language; that they would have gladly got rid of the charge of her defence on any terms short of open concession to Russian demands—a point brought out both by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Disraeli. It was their misfortune to have hampered themselves with a phrase—"Turkish integrity;" and it now appears that they would never have gone to war for that phrase, if Russian aggression and fraud had not made it a convertible phrase for "European independence." There has always, we believe, been a sense, in the public mind, of this distinction; but Mr. Sidney Herbert was the first to give it ministerial recognition—to give up, as the thing to be defended by arms, a diplomatic fiction; substituting for it a political reality—the security and freedom of Turkey, in common with other states, from autocratic ambition—from encroachments of a semi-barbarous power which veils, under reasonable demands, "evil, sinister, and selfish ends;" prosecutes them by mendacity and violence, with lying manifestoes, bloody deeds, and blasphemous appeals.

Thus much was brought out as to the origin of the war;—as to its mode and objects, we are still in the dark. Mr. Cobden would be content to fall back on the Vienna note—Mr. Drummond advises the re-establishment of Poland—Mr. Disraeli demands, in common with lesser men on both sides of the House, whether the restoration of Bessarabia to the Porte, the liberation of the Crimea, the opening of the Danube and the Euxine, shall not be our aim? Some hon. members insist that Russia's payment of all expenses be added to the condition of peace. The Government may contemplate all or none of these objects, for aught that the country is told. That we are "to fling back defiance" on the Czar, and not allow Turkey to make her own terms, are the most definite and distinct of the assurances by which Lord John evoked on Friday the thunders of the Commons. Beyond that, we only know what he did not say—namely, that France and England are mutually bound not to disturb existing territorial arrangements. There is hope in this—hope for Poles and Circassians. But the very circumstance of the German alliance, of which ministers are so boastful—and justly, from the diplomatic point of view—marks the wide difference between the governmental and the national ideas of the war. Jean Paul Richter has given forcible expression to the melancholy fact that, while German students and peasants, poets and artisans, fought for a free fatherland, their crowned generals were thinking only of a repartition of the soil. Scarcely less melancholy, we fear, is the diversity between the thought that is now in the heart of our statesmen, politicians, and conservative classes, and that which inspires the millions with eagerness for the fray—while *those* seek only to restore "order," *these* pant with the hope of inflicting retribution and enthroning liberty!

SECONDARY LEGISLATIVE PROJECTS.

It must be either from the courage of despair, or a strange indifference to failure, that Lord John Russell proposes again this session, bills for the removal of Jewish Disabilities and the correction of electoral corruption. This latter project—the latest of a long series to which his lordship has been a party—differs from its predecessors chiefly in the new provision for trying disputed elections; the submission of petitions to a sort of Parliamentary grand jury, and the assistance of select committees by assessors—gentlemen learned in the law, and skilled in its application. The new penalties for giving or accepting bribes are what Canning would call "epigrammatically just"—incapacity from ever again giving or receiving a vote. The candidate convicted of bribery is disqualified for life from sitting in the House; and the elector convicted of sin in the passive voice, is also disfranchised for life—his name being written down in a great book in the Palace at Westminster.

If there is something of ludicrously solemn inaptness in threatening only with the loss of social privileges men whose incapacity of appreciating the loss, and whose skill in evading its infliction, would seem prejudged by their guilt,—there is a positive prodigality of moral sanctions against professional immorality in the rival bill of Sir Fitzroy Kelly. The hon. and learned gentleman—whose fitness for the task of remedying electoral corruption, whether as a repentant offender or an innocent victim, none can doubt—proposes to line the path to the poll-book with a *chevaux de frise* of oaths. At every step of the process between nomination and introduction to the House—between the registration court and the voting place—candidates and electors are to swear; and their refusal so to do will expose them to ultimate rejection, as untrustworthy even on oath. Whether the buyers and sellers of a solemn trust will suffer their bargains to be frustrated by a solemn form of words, is a problem whose solution, we do not fear, will be left to experience. If there were not some.

thing of merit in Sir Fitzroy's proposal to make a public officer the trustee of all funds expended in election, its indulgence in "profane swearing" would have secured the instant rejection of his bill.

There are several other *projets de loi* already before Parliament, in addition to the great radical measure which is to tap the very root of all deficient or surplus legislation. First in rank—being a Government measure—is Mr. Baines' bill for the alteration of the Law of Settlement;—it gives the poor a right to relief, wherever they may be, and forbids their subsequent compulsory removal—a provision alike reasonable and humane; but, as the principle of uniform rating is to be extended only over Unions, the bill is threatened with opposition from the jealousy of contiguous districts. Mr. Phillimore proposes, at length, the appointment of public prosecutors—and the proposal will probably be adopted, substantially; for there are no grave objections to an institution for the want of which the punishment of wrong is often worse than its silent endurance, and thus both private and public interests suffer, while justice is defrauded. Mr. Locke King asks leave to enact that the landed estate of persons dying intestate shall be divided equally among their sons, instead of going to the eldest;—an attack upon "the much-abused law of primogeniture," which Lord John Russell permits to be made in the belief that it will fail; for which belief there may be less ground when ten-pound householders send their lack-land representatives to dispute with elder sons the power of legislation against the laws of nature. Lastly, Mr. Collier proposes—with some chance of success—to extend the operation of certain local acts peculiar to the south-west corner of England, protecting shareholders in mines from unlimited liability: the rapid growth of opinion on this subject is most cheering, and our good wishes to Mr. Collier are only qualified by the fear that obstructives would use the instalment he asks to delay that payment in full which would enrich this busy nation more than the discovery of gold in the mines of Cornwall.

PHILANTHROPY IN THE CITY.

THE London Tavern has, no doubt, often been used for assemblies not less mock-heroic than that at which Ralph Nickleby, Esq. assisted—a noble lord in the chair, and a humorous M.P., with a fur collar and a cambric handkerchief, for Apollo Mercurius. But the well-known room has also not seldom been filled with people, drawn from different quarters—a city cake, garnished with west-end ornaments—all intent upon a really benevolent enterprise.

It was so on Saturday last,—when a number of noble lords, distinguished commoners, and wealthy citizens, met to promote the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes. There were many good things said, as well as many shares taken up. Lord Stanley, for instance, discoursed well and wisely of charity, real and spurious. Several speakers dwelt upon the remarkable good health enjoyed by the inmates of the Model Dwellings,—their positive exemption even from epidemic disorders and infantile mortality. Lord Radstock pointed out, *à propos* to frequent calamitous incidents, the advantage and the sense of safety given to a working-man by the fact that his house is fire-proof. Working-men were there themselves to testify how highly their class appreciate these efforts for bettering their condition. Lord Ebrington mentioned that the loss from bad debts is to these associated landlords quite insignificant. And City gentlemen—great in figures—indisputable authorities upon investments—advised their friends to rely upon dividends of five per cent.

We need not urge, again, our friends to take shares in this or some similar association. We will show them how—if disinclined to that course—they can do good of the same sort by individual enterprise:—

PLAN FOR PROVIDING BETTER ACCOMMODATION FOR THE POORER CLASSES.—This plan is to take at a rental ranges of old houses (containing ten or twelve rooms each), to convert the staircases of every other house into lobbies and accessories for each separate floor; to break communications through the party walls on every story; to clear off and clean the walls; in some cases to add a story, or, where the curtilages admit of it, to enlarge the houses, and in all cases to convert the basement story into common kitchens, laundries, and cellars. If the rental of each house, on a repairing lease, be £50, (and this for central position is a full allowance; for suburban sites it might be £35,) suppose taxes to be £12, add thereto the interest of £150 per house, as the outlay on repairs and additions, at 5 per cent., the total amount is £69 10s., or say £70 a-year for five commodious suites of apartments, consisting of three rooms each, with closets, presses, and the other comforts of civilised life in higher spheres. This could be done then at £14 a-year for each family; but if you divide these, perhaps too spacious, and therefore too luxurious, suites of chambers in halves, the accommodation will far surpass anything to be found, not only in Seven Dials, but even in all Soho (such as are let to working people), at a rental of only £7 yearly, or about 2s. 8d. weekly.—*The Builder.*

LETTERS FROM THE SEAT OF WAR.

THE FRONTIER PROVINCES OF TURKEY.

Three of our daily journals have now their "own correspondents" on the Danube, each of them apparently well versed in military matters. The writer for the *Times* directs his last communications from Silistria, those for the *Daily News* and *Morning Chronicle* from Widdin and Kalafat. The difficulties of these enterprising caterers for the English public do not cease when they have written their letters. The Turkish post-office service is performed like the travelling, by small pack-horses, kept in relays at various distances along the leading routes. The letters are carried in bundles on the horses' backs, guarded by a tatar and one or two armed kavasses. The pace is generally a walk or a jog-trot, so that correspondence between different parts of the empire is by no means expeditious. A letter is generally a week on the way between Constantinople and all the large towns along the Danube. From the description given by one of the writers of the interior arrangements of a provincial post-office, it is a wonder that letters find their way to their destination at all. To ensure their certain delivery it is necessary to pay double postage. At the present moment, when Russia is threatening to cross the Danube, the military resources of Turkey in that region are matter of special interest; and we propose this week mainly to confine our remarks and extracts to this point.

The three principal points of defence along the line of the Danube are Widdin, Rustchuck, and Silistria—Schumla forming the base of operations, and Adrianople the station for the reserve army. To this last-named city the Sultan is to proceed early in the spring. The territorial arrangement of Turkey in Europe is considered well adapted for defence. Such was found to be the case during the Russian invasion of 1829, when European art and science had done little for Turkey. One of the military correspondents remarks on this point:—

Now the European art of war has completely revolutionized the military arrangements of Turkey, and at Oltenitza it was not the mere brave, resolute Turk of the old stamp, but the Minie rifle and the Prussian school of artillery that contributed to gain the victory; and I now hold the conquest of Bulgaria by Russia to be a thing as improbable of realization as it would be for the Turks to drive the Russians out of the Principalities without cavalry able to cope with the more powerful horse at the disposal of the Czar.

Rustchuck, the capital of the pachalic of Silistria, has a population of 50,000, and possesses considerable wealth and property. Its fortress has been put into a strong state of defence, and mounts 400 guns, with a garrison of 10,000 men. Many of the officers belonging to the effective regiment of artillerymen were sent to Rustchuck, and were engaged all last autumn in drilling the local artillery militia. "At this moment there are a great many butchers, carters, and even cooks, tailors, and other unwarlike-sounding craftsmen, who can work a battery with all the Prussian improvements on their old jog-trot native practice."

Should the Russian battalions cross the Danube, as has been so often threatened, they will land in Bulgaria, the inhabitants of which province are mostly Christians. How are they likely to be received?

In the Bulgarian villages we found the people well dressed and fed, the houses superior to those of the Wallachian peasantry, and having more utensils in iron, whereas, in the Wallachian hut where I passed a couple of days the poor people had neither candle nor candlestick. I made particular inquiry as to what sympathies there were for Russia among the Bulgarians, and found that in the old times of Turkish oppression there was a great desire for Russian rule; but since it has become the policy of the Porte to treat them with mildness, this desire has in a great measure passed away. They now only think of making a little money, and deeply regret the war as interfering with their trade and agriculture. They all acknowledge this great change in the administration of the Porte, and only complain of the lower and more ignorant Turks, who say to them, "You have been intriguing to bring the Russians upon us."

Bulgaria is "altogether one of the best provinces of Turkey for general productiveness, in corn as well as in other raw materials of food." Heavy wheat crops are grown, and grazing largely prevails. Consequently Omar Pacha's Danubian army, though numbering 130,000, is well provisioned. The daily allowance per head is 2½ lbs. of good brown bread, "more than many men can consume," and 80 drachms of butchers' meat, besides rice, vegetables, &c.

From all that I hear, the Turkish troops are far better fed than the Russians across the river, and this physical support, added to the more impetuous bravery of the Turk, renders the private Ottoman soldier decidedly superior to the Russian. At Oltenitza, the Russian officers were a-head of the infantry, sabre in hand, tugging on the not over-willing troops. On the contrary, the Turkish soldier was like the willing horse that required neither whip nor spur. It is in the excellent superior and staff officers, in the admirable cavalry horses, and in the native intelligence of the Cossacks, that the real strength of the Russian army lies, certainly not in either the moral or physical vigour of the common soldier. But the Turkish soldier is as much worse dressed and equipped than the Russian as he is better fed.

The Turkish soldiers, we are told, are no longer the terrible scourge to the population they once were. Every excess is strictly forbidden, and the Arnauts are the only disorderly troops. The Rediffs, of which one hears so much, instead of being half-drilled troops, are fully trained soldiers, having already completed five years in the line, and serving the second term of seven years in the Rediff, which prudent provision for a rainy day is quite a modern feature in the organisation of the Ottoman army.

The advance of a large Russian army upon Constantinople, however practicable at first sight, would be attended with difficulties doubly formidable when the wretched state of their commissariat, and the jobbery of their officers, are taken into account. In 1823, the troops of the Czar got as far as Shumla. An eye-witness, M. de Moltke, a Prussian officer, has described their sufferings and privations:—

Provisions were not to be had: herds of oxen which had accompanied the army soon perished; the horses worn out with fatigue, rendered no more useful services, or fell dead in the field; fevers, scurvy, and dysentery cast thousands of men into the hospitals, where death struck them down. Provisions, and even straw to sleep on, were not to be had. The only bedding which the sick had was a cutting from the tents abandoned by the Turks. Their havresacks served as pillows, and their great-coats for blankets. After the first days of a somewhat rigorous cold, the trees around the hospitals were cut down for firewood. And when wood failed, the bones of the dead in the cemeteries were dug up for fires. It would then be very difficult, especially without the support of a fleet, to protect operations on the coast, to cross the Balkans, and to arrive at Adrianople. Once there besides, nothing would be ended: the line of operations would be exposed to flank attacks on the part of the rude and warlike populations of Bosnia and Albania; the road between Adrianople and the capital present various positions very advantageous for defence, and Constantinople itself would be in a state to oppose a serious resistance, which by being prolonged would render the situation of an army so far advanced in an enemy's country very critical.

About a fortnight ago a groundless report prevailed that Silistria, one of the strongholds of the Mussulman army, had been taken by a small Russian force which crossed the river. A slight knowledge of this important strategic point would have prevented so absurd a rumour. One of the military writers describes its consequence:—

The first aspect of Silistria shows it to be a place of the first military importance, every embayment and palisade being fresh, tidy, and fit for work; while the heights are covered with forts that sweep every approach to this place, which is renowned beyond every other in the annals of Danubian warfare. The loss of Silistria would, in the event of a serious prosecution of the present war, be a great blow to the Ottoman arms, for it breaks down an angle of the triangle which it forms with Rustchuck and Schumla: it places all the Turkish troops in the Dobrudja, or tongue of land between Silistria and Bulina, in a very disadvantageous position, and in danger of having their retreat cut off, while at the same time Silistria becomes a *tête de pont* for operations on Schumla and Varna, which latter important post is the extreme right wing of the second line of Turkish defence; but even with the rupture of the Danubian chain the heavy work of the invader has still to come, for on the Balkan line from Varna to the Servian frontier the five great passes near Varna Prana, Osman Bazar, Ternova, and Sumugh have been fortified so as to be all but impassable.

Silistria is situated on the full breadth of the Danube, just before it makes a little bend to the south, and divides so as to form several islands. It contains above 20,000 inhabitants, the houses being mostly one story high, built of wood. The garrison consists of 11,000 men. The commander-in-chief of the place is held by Moussa Pasha, virtual Director-General of the Turkish artillery of the Ottoman Empire—one of the most distinguished men of the Ottoman Empire, the great reformer of this arm, and the man whose persevering and energetic support of the Prussian officers for a number of years has made the Turkish artillery what it is. The detached forts of Silistria are very strong. Fort Abd-ul-Medjid, constructed according to the designs of the Prussian Colonel, Gutzkowski, is allowed by all military men to be one of the most remarkable works of this age.

A little to the left of Silistria, between that town and Rustchuck, is Turtukai, opposite the now celebrated Oltenitza, which occupies a commanding position on the Bulgarian shore, from which one sees the whole of the field of the recent fight, spread out as on a map. The town itself is anything but inviting, with six inches of black liquid mud in the streets, as if all the reserve stores of Day and Martin had been poured out on them. It is the head-quarters of the irregular troops under the command of Giafer Pasha, head of the Moslem Arnauts, and Ahmed Pasha, who watches the Danube line from Rustchuck to Silistria. The town itself, lying on the last steep slopes of the hill next the Danube, is small, and every house packed as full as it can hold of troops, mostly Tosk Cham and Queque Arnauts, in their drab clothes and kilts of Manchester cotton, which has now universally superseded the native linen fustanella. "Giafer Pasha," says one of the writers from the spot "unites intelligence and bravery with loyalty to the Sultan, and I anticipate a brilliant career for him. The Cossacks are visible, cantoning on the greensward on the other side

of the river, but no signs of war are visible here at present, except an occasional conical ball aimed at the lodgings of Ahmed Pasha or Giafer Pasha, and the bark of a tree fresh peeled by one was pointed out to me by the latter. The Russian force on the other side of the river, between Giurgevo and Kalarasch, is estimated at 24,000 men."

Widdin, opposite to Kalafat, is a lively bustling town, and is used as the hospital for the troops wounded in the engagements in Lesser Wallachia. The communication with the opposite shore is effected by boats, and is liable to be interrupted during the winter season by floating ice. The guns of Widdin command the opposite shore; but, in case of the storming of Kalafat, the defeated Turks would have small chance of reaching the Bulgarian bank. Aware of their desperate position, the army which, under the command of Ismail Pasha and Achmet Pasha, line the entrenchments of Kalafat, is prepared to conquer or die. Here is a lively description of Widdin:—

"Besides the above, there are the usual quantity of mosques, minarets, the clock-tower, the post-office (lately described as 'one room six or eight feet square'), shops for the sale of tobacco, furs, bread, groceries, drugs, pipes, arms, fruits, haberdashery, hardware, second-hand goods of every description—with a Turk walking about in front of the shop, holding an old pair of breeches, perhaps, up to auction, with no bidders; shops, too, containing manufactured articles of the coarsest description, where they are sure to have a representative of everything except that which a European can possibly want: wine and spirit shops, where a fine 'gassy' wine may be procured, which has been aptly described to taste like 'a cross between vinegar and a doctor's gargle'; likewise 'rakl,' a vile spirit made from raisins, flavoured with aniseed, and is the most horrid compound invented with the intention of cheering the heart of man; still it is much affected by the Bulgarians, and eke by the Turks—the Koran, to the contrary, notwithstanding. But to continue the catalogue, the baths—so often described as to be almost as well understood in England as in Turkey; the butchers' shops, with the whole of the road in front streaming with blood, and strewn with organic remains—a disgusting sight, enough to engender all the plagues of Egypt; the smitheries, where an unfortunate bullock may be seen undergoing the, to him, highly uncongenial operation of shoeing, fastened beyond all power of escape or movement. A log of wood is tied between his forelegs at the fetlocks, as he lies on his side; the arm of a lever of wood, somewhat similar to that used in England for raising up the axle of a carriage off the ground to wash the wheels, is thrust under the log, and the other arm worked upon, until the creature finds his legs stretched up in the air in a convenient position for his shoes to be nailed on. Horses undergo the same operation, though with less desperate measures—the shoes being plates of iron with a hole in the centre, and bent up at the feet into a point. Cafes filled with soldiers and turbaned Turks, smoking consumedly; the Austrian consulate, with a flag and a coat of arms flourishing over the door, and, with one or even two *compatriotes* to look after, &c., fill the main streets with sleighs laden with forage, wood, &c., dragged by bullocks, and driven by woolly-clad Bulgarians; and soldiers, veiled women, boys selling doubtful sweetmeats, and men vending an unknown beverage from a tin can and in a coffee-cup; *dashes buzooks*, the irregular calvary of the army, from all sorts of unknown countries; a Greek priest or two, and a dervish or so; and last, but not least, with thick slushy mud up to the ankles, and a fair idea of a street in Widdin may be formed."

Before leaving Bulgaria, we may glance for a moment at the line of defence furnished by the Balkan, several of the passes of which are now strongly fortified. At the foot of this range of mountains, which have hitherto proved so formidable a barrier to Russian aggrandisement, lies Schumla, the head quarters of the Turkish army:—

On leaving Schumla we passed through one of the two roads by which the chain of hills which all but encircle it can be penetrated. They are in no part of very great height, but rise almost perpendicularly above the town, and contain some charming glens. At first sight one would imagine that, when thus overlooked, Schumla must be all but untenable as a military post, for any line of defence which embraced the hills would require an enormous army to man it, vastly larger, in fact, than the importance of the place, in any point of view, would warrant. In reality, however, they form the great source of its strength, and have rendered it famous by the various checks which the Russians have sustained before it. They are covered throughout the whole extent by thick brushwood, the remains of old forests, the height in most places of a man's shoulders, and so stiff and close that it is almost impossible for one to make his way through it, even along the path, without a guide. In the same manner it forms an excellent barrier against any attack on every side but the east, as it would be impossible for troops to deploy in the thickets; and, if the two narrow roads were well defended, it would be equally impossible to penetrate, even for scattered detachments to penetrate, without being separated and cut off by any foe who knew the ground. These natural advantages have rendered Schumla the great stumbling-block of the Russians in all their wars with the Turks, and as long as it remained unto them, an advance upon Constantinople was attended with no small danger. The approaches on the side next Varna are defended by several batteries as well as by the enceinte which surrounds the whole place. Altogether a large army might safely retire here in case of a reverse farther northward, and bid defiance to a force vastly superior. Its position with regard to the other fortified posts on the Danube, renders it admirably adapted for the Turkish head-quarters.

These facts go far to prove that, despite inequality of numbers, Turkey has now, by the help of European science, the strong position of her frontier provinces, her formidable border fortresses, and the excellent condition of her troops, become almost a match for her great northern enemy. Her strength lies in her de-

fensive attitude, and would perhaps suffice to repel a Russian invasion of Turkey Proper without the assistance of either European powers.

Turn we now to another province of European Turkey, of only less importance in a military point of view, than Bulgaria itself. The Principality of Servia enjoys its own independence under the protection of the Porte, paying only a small tribute, and allowing its fortresses to be garrisoned by Turkish troops. A glance at the map will show the value of its position in a military point of view. Notwithstanding that the Servians profess the Greek religion, and that intrigues of the Muscovite have for many years past kept alive a Russian party, and materially influenced the actions of the Government—to the extent of setting up and pulling down the chief advisers of the Hospodar—here, as in Bulgaria, the mild rule of the Turks has diminished former animosities, and, generally speaking, the Serbs prefer the nominal sovereignty of the Sultan to the untried despotism of the Czar. Prince Alexander, whose merit consists chiefly in the fact that he is the son of the original "murdered hero" of Servian liberty, Kara George, is believed to sympathize with his Ottoman suzerain; the majority of his senate, consisting of seventeen members, rather leaning to Russia, as is evident from their objection to the public reading of the new firmans from the Porte. As to the rumours of revolution in Servia, one of the correspondents believes "all will remain in the most profound quiet." Servia is the most advanced of the Turkish provinces. "The government is now regularly administered in a civilised manner, and the exercise of despotic power is unknown." The Serbs are a vigorous race, and during the four centuries of Turkish domination have managed to preserve the Christian religion and municipal rights.

All newspaper readers are familiar with the name of Prince Milosch—one of the many tools employed by Russia in carrying out her schemes against Turkey. He was originally a peasant, made Prince of Servia in 1813, and remained chief of the Principality for twenty-five years.

Milosch had many excellent qualities, but, in the opinion of his enemies, he was finally more sensual, cruel, and despotic than a Turkish Pacha. But the peasants, even to this day, are devoted to him; for in his progress through the country, and on all occasions, he would call many of them by their own names, and when they gathered in crowds, having come long miles to see their chief, he would cry out to one—"Hey, Peter! how does it go with thee now? how are thy children?" naming them, perhaps, and, having a prodigious memory, recalling each face after ten years. Then he also understood their occupation, for it had been his own—"Ah, Milo! your hogs are not fat enough, they ought to weigh a hundred more." This naturally gained the hearts of the peasantry. But meantime, say his enemies, he lost the affections of the cities by his unbridled lust, avarice, and vengeance. As he could neither read nor write, he gave his orders verbally, and often settled personally, as judge, after Oriental fashions, the quarrels of the peasants. But when the struggles of war were over, his animal propensities and his unbridled power overthrew him. He had no intellectual resources. Without the religion, or the social excuses of the Turks, he adopted their worst practices.

This brutal savage in his jealousy had Kara George murdered, and is said to have ordered the skin to be taken from the head, and, after it was stuffed, it was sent through the pacha, as a present to the Sultan. Such is the *protégé* of Russia! His excessive tyranny brought about a rising which drove him into exile in 1839. He is anxious to regain his position, and is now upon his estates in Wallachia, receiving some of his Servian friends; but his chances of success are very small, and are not spoken of. He has amassed great wealth, which he appears to be spending freely, in organising a volunteer corps in the Russian service. We conclude with the report of a conversation between one of our literary politicals and an Albanian adventurer:—

I must not forget to give you a good specimen of ingenious Albanian reasoning, which I heard from another Arnaut lately, with reference to the neighbouring principality of Servia. "What a pity," said he, "it is that Servia holds so tenaciously with the Porte. A long peace has rendered all the people of Servia—peasant and citizen—rich and prosperous; while we Arnauts, with our troubles, have remained poor. For a number of years, at least 100,000 Albanians have been waiting for Servia having some little quarrel with the Porte and a signal to move across the border; but no, our rifles and their farmyards seem destined never to make acquaintance with each other." "I commiserate your bad luck," said I; but only look to the plight I am in myself. I come here as a historiographer of bloody battles, and I have not, on my word, seen a single battalion cut up. I even begin to lose the hope of a skirmish of Cossacks and Bashibozouks on the ice." "Ah these peace-makers!" said he, with a face as long as a doctor or an undertaker in a healthy season, "these peace-makers spoil all; *Inshallah!*—better times are in store for us both."

Mr. Robert Stephenson the eminent engineer, has offered to pay half of the debts of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, provided means are taken to pay the other half before the next anniversary, and the annual subscription is reduced one-half, namely, to one guinea. The debt, in all, amounts to £6,300.

THE NEW REFORM BILL.

ABSTRACT OF ITS PROVISIONS.

The following are the schedules attached to this important measure. It will be seen that the schedules of disfranchisement, A and B, would vacate 62 seats—viz., A 29, and B 33. The total disfranchisement of boroughs, therefore, comprises 62 seats. With respect to additional members, Schedule C gives 46, Schedule D 10, and Schedule E 6; total, 62. The number of seats enfranchised, therefore, exactly balances those disfranchised; and the number of the House of Commons remains the same:—

SCHEDULE A.

Boroughs having less than 300 electors, or less than 5,000 inhabitants.

| | Members at present returned. |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Andover | 2 |
| Arundel | 1 |
| Ashburton | 1 |
| Calne | 1 |
| Dartmouth | 1 |
| Evesham | 2 |
| Harwich | 2 |
| Honiton | 2 |
| Knaresborough | 2 |
| Lyme Regis | 1 |
| Marlborough | 2 |
| Midhurst | 1 |
| Northallerton | 1 |
| Reigate | 1 |
| Richmond (Yorkshire) | 2 |
| Thetford | 2 |
| Totnes | 2 |
| Wells | 2 |
| Wilton | 1 |

49 boroughs.

29 membs.

SCHEDULE B.

Boroughs having less than 500 electors, or less than 100,000 inhabitants, now returning two members, to return in future one member only.

| | |
|-------------|-------------------------|
| Bodmin | Lichfield |
| Bridgnorth | Maldon |
| Bridport | Malton |
| Buckingham | Marlow (Great) |
| Chichester | Newport (Isle of Wight) |
| Chippenham | Peterborough |
| Cirencester | Poole |
| Cockermouth | Ripon |
| Devizes | Stamford |
| Dorchester | Tamworth |
| Guilford | Tavistock |
| Hertford | Tewkesbury |
| Huntingdon | Tiverton |
| Leominster | Weymouth |
| Lewes | Windsor |
| Ludlow | Wycombe (Chipping) |
| Lymington | |

Total, 33 members.

SCHEDULE C.

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS TO COUNTIES.

Counties and divisions of counties containing a population of more than 100,000, at present returning two members, for the future to return three members.

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Bedford | Middlesex |
| Chester—Southern div. | Monmouth |
| Northern div. | Norfolk—Western div. |
| Cornwall—Western div. | Eastern div. |
| Eastern div. | Stafford—Northern div. |
| Derby—Northern division | Southern div. |
| Southern division | Somerset—Western div. |
| Devon—Northern division | Eastern div. |
| Southern division | Salop—Northern division. |
| Durham—Northern div. | Southampton—Nor. div. |
| Southern div. | Suffolk—Eastern division. |
| Essex—Northern division | Western div. |
| Southern division | Surrey—Eastern division. |
| Gloucester—Western div. | Sussex—Eastern division. |
| Kent—Western division. | Warwick—Northern div. |
| Eastern division. | Worcester—Eastern div. |
| Lancaster—Northern div. | York—East Riding. |
| Lincoln—Parts of Lindsey | North Riding—37. |
| Parts of Kesteven | |
| and Holland. | |

WALES.

Glamorgan—1.

Divisions of counties now returning two members to be sub-divided, and each sub-division to return in future three members.

Lancaster—Southern div. | York—West Riding—8.

Additional members, 46.

SCHEDULE D.

CITIES AND BOROUGHS TO RETURN FOR THE FUTURE

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS. Cities and boroughs containing more than 100,000 inhabitants, at present returning two members, for the future to return three members each.

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| Birmingham | Manchester (city) |
| Bristol (city) | Sheffield |
| Bradford (Yorkshire) | Southwark |
| Leeds | Wolverhampton—9. |
| Liverpool | |

Borough now returning one member to return in future two members.

Salford—1.

Additional members, 10.

SCHEDULE E.

UNREPRESENTED PLACES TO RETURN MEMBERS IN FUTURE.

Towns containing more than 20,000 inhabitants to return in future one member each.

| | |
|-----------------|---------|
| Birkenhead | Burnley |
| Staleybridge—3. | |

Inns-of-Court to return in future two members.

London University to return in future one member. Additional members, 6.

The following are the new franchises common to counties and boroughs granted by the new bill:—

1. Persons in receipt of salaries from public or private employment of not less than £100 per annum, payable quarterly or half-yearly.
2. Persons in receipt of £10 per annum, derived from Government Stock, or Bank or India Stock.
3. Persons paying 40s. per annum to Income or Assessed Taxes.
3. Graduates of any University in the United Kingdom.
5. Persons who have for three years possessed a deposit of £50 in any savings bank.

NEW FRANCHISES FOR COUNTIES.

6. All occupiers rated at £10 per annum, residing elsewhere than in represented towns.

NEW FRANCHISES FOR BOROUGHES.

7. All occupiers rated at £6, who have been resident within the borough two years and a half.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The daily newspapers have not varied much from the position they took up immediately on the exposition of the Government measure. The *Times*, *Chronicle*, and *Globe*, continue their praises of its moderation and efficiency—the *Post*, *Herald*, and *Standard* still rail at it as a wanton delusive concession to democracy—the *Daily News* has almost forgotten its defects in the steady contemplation of its merits—the *Advertiser* and *Sun* give it a grumbling support.

Among the London weeklies, the scheme finds unexpected approbation. The once ultra-democratic *Leader*, preferring the postponement of all questions to those that smell of gunpowder, sees sufficient merit in the bill that it will "enfranchise more Englishmen;"—but one of the *Leader's* regular and most spirited contributors ("Non-Elector") warns Radical Reformers "not to rush at this bill merely because it extends the suffrage,"—lest, it having passed, "they hear cries against annual revolutions," and "hear of no further reform for another 20 years, People's Charters and mild Reform Associations notwithstanding." The *Dispatch* almost rivals the *Spectator* in admiration of the minority representation crochets—which, however, the *Examiner* thus caustically exhibits:—

For what is this innovation proposed? Lord John Russell explains that it is to avoid the irritation and anger of the defeated minority in close contests, and also that it is an expedient for bringing, as it were, something of everything into the House of Commons, or a section of all opinions. Now, as to the anger of the defeated minorities, how can so partial a case for its avoidance be justified? Why is one county or town to be soothed, and comforted with its odd member for its odd opinions, while other counties and towns are left uncared for to fret and fume over their defeats? Constituencies will be apt to say in this case that what's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and that one minority has as good a right to a salve and plaster against irritation as another. As for the argument that all opinions should be represented in the House of Commons, we have only to observe that if the variety were somewhat smaller than it now is, the stock of sense would be greater. The Wrongheads are now a very numerous family, and there is not the least reason to believe that there will ever be a serious dearth of that race; and it appears to us nothing less than preposterous to contrive special openings for them. To use a Scotch phrase, they will "win in," whether their presence be desirable or not; and with that certainty the advocates of diversity might be content. To introduce men for the mere sake of difference is like that truly Irish whim of "the young man of Ballinacra, who wanted a wife to make him uneasy." But we may be told it does not follow that minorities must be wrong, and Lord Melbourne used to contend that minorities were always right; but what would become of the merits of their cause when they grew into majority, and cast their opponents into the minority always right, that acute statesman did not explain. That minorities are often right we should be the last to deny, and they may be safely left to their merits to grow into majorities by force of truth; but in forcing them artificially into power this desirable stage of probation is escaped. And what will be the position and consideration of the odd members for minorities in the house? For what will they tell in speeches and divisions? Of course the usual way of speaking of them will be, "the hon. member for the minority of Guzzledown." They will be called the minor thirds. Their votes should correspond with the proportion of their constituencies, and be counted as two-fifths; and two-and-a-half of these half castes should make an integral member, or five should go to two entire members. Working the fraction will task the arithmetic of the Tellers, who will probably, for convenience, reduce them to decimals, with the point before their figure. In every debate and every division the part of these minors will be the subject of invidious observation. They will be reminded that they are not made as other members are made, that they are not of full measure, as it were, but a composition, at the bankrupt rate of four shillings in the pound. And whenever they open their mouths to make a statement the house will be warned against giving credit to minors, and they will be admonished to wait with the modesty suitable to their immaturity, till they attain their majorities. We do hope that this project of giving representation to minorities, and another to the same effect in the Bribery Bill, will be re-considered and dropped.

The *Weekly News*, designating this novel peculiarity of the bill "an excrescence rather than a feature," seems to think it so objectionable, as to spoil the whole:

It appears to us flatly opposed to the whole theory of British election, to the spirit which stirs a county from end to end in a contest of principles, but which, when the battle is won, teaches the winner to consider himself the member for the county and not for the majority; it proffers a species of compromise which might as easily be effected by letting a county have one member only, if two are to neutralise each other; and in fine, and most important of all, it tends to do away with that magnificent constitutional doctrine which Englishmen comprehend and continental na-

tions cannot—namely, that a minority, in a free country, assents to be bound by the acts of a majority.

The liberal provincial press, show no favour to the "excrescence." The *Manchester Examiner* describes it as "practically nullifying in one direction the increase of political power which, with a show of liberality, is conferred in another:—

The principle, carried to its full extent throughout the country, would simply result in a relative negation of votes; whilst, by confining to such towns as Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, and Wolverhampton, the tact of the Minister promises to deprive these important and rapidly-developing localities of that parliamentary influence which they are undoubtedly obtaining year by year. Tory minorities are thus to be represented in large boroughs, whilst the same principle is pronounced out of place in the smaller, where radicalism might prove inconvenient.

This is the general tone of the northern liberal organs. The *Leeds Mercury* "abstains at present from remark on the principle of representing minorities;" but the *Bradford Observer* and the *Sheffield Independent* are prompt and decided. The former says:—

It only goes a step backwards in the difficulty; and indeed if it went further, and the principle that all opinion should be represented were carried out in this way, it would lead to a direct and universal vote on every question. Representative government would thus be destroyed, but the majority would still rule: it would rule by its direct vote instead of the vote of its representatives. In its practical working the principle might fail wherever the minority was less than 40 in 100, by the majority splitting their votes and securing all three members. On the other hand, where the minority was large, its object would be overdone by the minority securing their own man, and splitting their votes so as to decide the choice of a second. In a great many cases, and on the most stirring questions, Bradford and Leeds, in place of having two votes in the House would have but one; their having three members would put them in a worse position than smaller towns having only two.

The *Sheffield Independent* puts a new interpretation on the proposition, but still objects:—

It has been taken to be that the third candidate must have two-fifths of the votes in order to be returned, and the question naturally arose—What, then, if he had not two-fifths? But Lord J. Russell's language, correctly understood, removes the difficulty. He says that where three members are to be returned, he proposed that the electors should vote only for two candidates out of the three, and that [thus] when the minority exceeds two-fifths of the whole number of electors, that minority should be enabled to have one of the representatives. Suppose a constituency of 6000, three members to be elected out of four candidates. We may imagine 5000 electors to vote for two candidates, and 1000 to divide their votes between the other two. The third man would be returned if he had 500 votes, and the fourth had 499. But when the majority was in the proportion of three-fourths to one-fourth, it might so divide its votes as to return three members, and leave the majority powerless as at present. Whether the measure proposed will materially affect the strength of parties in parliament, it may be difficult to guess. It is to be observed that the plan is to be applied to nine large boroughs and forty counties, or divisions of counties, of the largest population. All those nine boroughs, excepting Liverpool, return liberal members. And among the counties subject to this change are nearly all those that return liberal members. Wherever the liberal party is but just secure, the result will be to return a third member, who may be a check, and may even be a counterbalance to one of the existing members. In some cases it may seat as a third member a moderate liberal. In more it would probably send a Tory.

The *Rochdale Sentinel*, characterising the bill as one "to enfranchise minorities," argues that as the additional member is given to at most one-third of the electors, his transference from a small to a large constituency is only a nominal advantage. "He might as well have been the member for Midhurst as for Manchester, for what good he is to the majority of the electors of the city favoured with a new member," estimating the half-dozen new franchises as little else than "so many descriptions of the same class," and balancing the gain to the landlord interest in the rural counties from the £10 franchise, against the liberal gain in the metropolitan and manufacturing counties from the same source, the *Sentinel* concludes that the bill will "time the balance of parties, and leave the people pretty much where it found them." A table is given to show that the 43 counties to which new members are to be given have already 47 members more than they ought; the Radical Reformers are exhorted either to obtain great alterations in the bill, or reject it as "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

In the event of Lord John Russell's new Reform Bill becoming law without material alteration, says the *Stamford Mercury*, there will undoubtedly be a remarkable change in the representation of Lincolnshire. Stamford will lose one member, but there will be a gain of one to each division of the county; and, according to the present state of political feeling, also taking into account the proposed mode of voting, it is probable that for the North division two Liberals and one conservative, and for the South division two Conservatives and one Liberal, will be returned at the next general election.

We are rather disappointed in the small amount of information to be gathered from our provincial contemporaries as to the probable working of the measure. While the London *Spectator* guesses the increase of elections at but a third of their present number, only the *Leeds Mercury*, the *Birmingham Mercury*, and the *Norfolk News*, afford any data for correcting the conjecture. The *Birmingham Mercury* makes a sanguine estimate:—

The total number of registered electors in Birmingham in 1852 was 7,936. This number includes the whole of Birmingham and Edgbaston, and that portion of Aston which is situated within the borough. Now, assuming that all householders and occupiers of tene-

ments rated to the poor at £6 and upwards will be eligible for the franchise, the future constituency, omitting Edgbaston, will stand thus:

| | |
|---|--------|
| Number of Assessments rated to the poor | |
| at £6 and upwards, in Birmingham..... | 26,127 |
| Ditto in Aston | 5,981 |
| Total..... | 32,108 |

Of course this number does not include those who will be qualified through the Savings Bank Clause—the payment of 40s. as income-tax—the receipt of a salary of £100 per annum, or any of the other new suffrages created by the proposed bill. Making, therefore, a liberal deduction from the above figures, for double assessments through being in the occupation of the same party, for voids, removals, not having resided two years and a half, &c., &c., it appears that the future constituency of Birmingham may be safely put down at from twenty-five to thirty thousand electors.

The borough of Wolverhampton, which includes Wolverhampton, Bilston, Willenhall, Wednesfield, and Sedgley, in 1852, contained 3,587 electors. The future number will be as follows:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|
| Tenements rated at £6 and upwards, in | |
| Wolverhampton | 6,367 |
| Ditto in Willenhall | 1,099 |
| Ditto in Wednesfield..... | 255 |

The numbers for Bilston and Sedgley we have not at hand, but we may say that the total constituency for the borough will amount at least to 12,000.

The registered electors in Dudley in 1852 were 912. The present number of £6 assessments is upwards of 4,000.

Lichfield has a constituency of 836. The present £6 assessments exceed 1,150.

From the above comparisons it will be evident that the proposed bill will extend the franchise in boroughs to an extent that must be highly satisfactory to those who have so long been agitating for an extension of the suffrage.

In the counties, we are of opinion that the constituencies will be increased in a corresponding degree. As yet, we are not able to lay before our readers the total increase in any county division; but just to show how the £10 franchise may be expected to act, we may say that in that part of Aston, not comprised within the borough, the present number of electors for North Warwick who derive their qualification by living in a £50 tenement is 146. The number of assessments rated to the poor at £10 and upwards is 1,224; so that in one parish, without calculating any of the other new qualifications, the electors will be increased from 146 to 1,224.

The *Leeds Mercury* offers no opinion upon the effect of the bill on county constituencies, and is not very sanguine as to the towns:—

The borough constituencies, we apprehend, will not be very greatly increased—by no means so much as they would have been under Lord J. Russell's proposed reform bill of 1852. By that measure all occupiers of premises rated at £5 a year were to have votes. By the present measure the occupiers of premises rated above £6 a year are to have votes, but not until they have resided in the borough at least two years and a half. However, the clauses which require the payment of rates and taxes before being put on the register are abolished; but the effect of this arrangement in swelling the register will be very small, at least in Leeds.

There is then given a table, "showing the number of assessments to the poor and highway rates in each township of the borough,"—from which "it would appear that the number of names on the register for the Borough of Leeds (including duplicates) will be increased from 6,367 to 8,195,—increase 1,828, or about 29 per cent."

It will be remembered that by the Small Tenements Rating Act, 18 and 14 Vic. c. 99, (which, however, is permissive, not compulsory), the rates for all tenements of the value of £6 and under are to be paid by the owners and not by the occupiers; and as Lord John makes an allusion to that act in his speech, we shall probably find that he intends to enfranchise, not the occupiers of tenements rated at £6 and upwards, but the occupiers of tenements rated above £6. (This conjecture is strongly confirmed by Lord J. Russell having moved for returns of "the number of persons rated to the poor at sums exceeding £6.") We suppose he will draw the line of enfranchisement where the Small Tenements Act draws the line of the payment of rates; and if so, persons occupying premises rated exactly at £6 would not be enfranchised, because they do not pay the rates.—A rating of £8 5s. is about equal to a value or rental of £10; and in point of fact, where it is found in the Revision Court that a person is rated at £8 5s., his possession of the qualification for voting (which is a £10 value or rental) is not disputed. The addition made to the constituency would, therefore, be of the persons occupying houses rated above £6 and under £8 5s.; and that number is 2,182. Deducting from this number 30 per cent., or 654, for tenements unoccupied, those occupied by females, and for persons who have not had a continuous occupation in the borough for 2½ years, the net addition made to the constituency from this source would be 1,528.

Then our informant believes that the persons who will be qualified, by receiving salaries of £100 a year, by paying 40s. a year of direct taxes, or by having £10 a year from funded property, will be about 200; and that those who have had £50 in savings banks for three years may be 100. The total number of electors in this borough would then be 8,195.

We think there can be no question that all the classes whom it is proposed to add to the borough constituencies deserve the franchise; but the combined effect of the various additions will be less than might seem at first sight. Of course, many of the persons who possess one of the new qualifications will possess a second or a third of those qualifications; and the variety of qualifications for which a person may register will lead to the burdening of the register with many duplicate and triplicate entries.

In our judgment it is very undesirable to attach the condition of two years and a half's residence to the new class of occupiers admitted to the borough franchise. That class is by no means so numerous or in such humble circumstances as to render any such invidious distinction needful. It will consist of the more re-

spectable and intelligent of the working class. In the municipal franchise, where every householder, whatever may be the value of his tenement, may vote provided he has resided two years and a half, some such regulation is desirable, in order to ensure that the electors shall be settled inhabitants, and not wanderers. But it is altogether different with regard to the occupants of houses rated above £6 a year. They are the better portion of the working class; and it would be a vexatious, needless, and unjust thing to deprive them of their votes for nearly three years if the necessity of their trade should lead them to remove from one town to another. We hope Ministers will see the desirableness of putting all the borough voters on the same footing as to length of residence.

It deserves to be pointed out, that the extent of the franchise will be very different in different townships or boroughs, owing to the rated value not bearing a uniform proportion to the real value. The only remedy for this would be to pass a law regulating the mode of rating, so as to make it uniform.

All these objections are alleged, by the always-Radical *Norfolk News*, in relation to Norwich and other boroughs in the eastern counties.

First, and most decidedly, we object to the inadequacy of the provisions for enfranchising the working-classes. Certainly, we did not expect that the measure would fully satisfy us on this point, but we did encourage the hope that it would be at least as acceptable as that of 1852, which was based on a £5 franchise. We can hardly understand what Lord John Russell means by £6 rated value, for small tenements are almost universally compounded for, and rated at only a fraction of their value—a third or a fourth; but we will presume that the rated value is £10 per cent. below the actual rent. A house letting for £6 12s., then, is the lowest that would entitle to a vote—and moreover, the unreasonably long period of nearly three years' residence is required; but three-fourths of our operatives live in houses considerably below that rental, and would therefore be excluded from the franchise. This, with us, is a very serious objection, sufficiently so to prevent us from giving a hearty support to the measure.

A minor objection involved in the preceding is that the vote is made to depend on the rateable value. Now, in Norwich, the cottage of £6 is set down in the rate-book (under the local Act) as of the rateable value of £1 10s.; in Yarmouth, the general law—the Parochial Assessment Act and the Small Tenements' Rating Act of the 18th and 14th Victoria—is in force; whilst at Lynn, another local Act—different from both the general Acts and the Norwich Act—regulates the rating. Rateable value may mean three different things in these boroughs, and as many more different things in as many other similar constituencies. Now, however stinted the measure may be, we ought at least to know what we are about, and the same words should have the same meaning and effect throughout the country. Let us have no local grievances to be relieved after they have caused an infinitude of trouble and vexation.

The enfranchisement of the Inns-of-Court, and of University graduates, meets even less approval than the minority representation project. The *Athenæum* had "fondly hoped" for an "educational franchise," and takes, as a very ill substitute, the provisions above named, and the allotment of two members to universities.

THE WAR.

THE CZAR'S REPLY TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON'S LETTER.

The *Moniteur* of Sunday briefly announced that the reply of the Emperor of Russia to the letter of the Emperor of the French had arrived, and that the Czar declined to accept the proposals for an arrangement which were addressed to him. On Monday the *Moniteur* published the following article:—"The Czar in his letter to the Emperor discusses the conditions of arrangement which had been proposed to him, and declares that he can only enter into a negotiation on the bases which he has made known. This answer destroys all chance of a pacific solution, and France must prepare to maintain by more efficient measures the cause which the persevering efforts of diplomacy have failed to conduct to a successful issue. In defending more energetically the rights of Turkey, the Emperor reckons on the patriotism of the country, the intimate alliance with England, and the sympathies of the governments of Germany. These governments have constantly declared that they desired to maintain as resolutely as ourselves the balance of power in Europe, and to cause the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire to be respected. There is no other question engaged in the discussion. Attention is directed towards Austria, which is called by her position to play an active and important part. Austria has always declared herself, with great firmness, in favour of points which were established in the protocol of the conference of Vienna of the 5th December last. We have every confidence in the loyalty and chivalrous character of the young Emperor of Austria; we find also a guarantee of the dispositions of his government in the interests which are identical with our own. In the general circumstances of European policy, France, strong in virtue of her loyal and disinterested intentions, has nothing to dread from the struggle which is preparing. She knows, moreover, that she may rely on the energy as much as on the wisdom of the Emperor."

PREPARATIONS IN FRANCE.

It is expected that immediate orders will be given for the embarkation of troops at Toulon. The expedition will consist of 45,000 men. Prince Napoleon Jerome is believed to have been nominated to the chief command. All the general officers in Paris paid their respects at the Palais Royal on Saturday, though the appointment has not yet been gazetted. It is supposed that Marshal Vaillant will be appointed Chief of the Staff, and will exercise the command in reality. There was some idea of appointing General Baraguay d'illiers, but he cannot yet be spared from his diplomatic post. General Pelissier will, in all likelihood, have the command of the African division, and General

MacMahon, who is still here, and whose aides-de-camp have been just named by the Minister of War, will also take a command.

The Emperor gave a fancy ball at the Tuileries on Saturday night. It is described as having been very splendid. The Emperor appeared in the uniform of a Colonel of the company of the Garde du Corps which is in course of organization. The Empress wore the costume of an Albanian lady, and looked admirable in it. Vely Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador, wore the gorgeous and imposing costume of a Turkish Pasha of the olden time. The Emperor spoke for some time with the Pasha, and said, among other things, that he hoped he was satisfied with him, as he was about to send 10,000 turbans to Turkey—alluding, no doubt, to the Zouaves. The Ambassador replied, that he was most gratified at the sympathy and co-operation of France; that the 10,000 his Majesty spoke of would be received with enthusiasm by the Turkish people and army.

OUR PREPARATIONS AT HOME.

At a Privy Council held on Saturday afternoon, the Queen was pleased to issue a proclamation, prohibiting, under a clause of the Customs Consolidation Act, the export or carrying coastwise of arms, gunpowder, and all other stores of war, and also of marine engines, screw-propellers, and all other machinery or parts of machinery which may be used in steam-vessels. This prohibition is general and absolute, and the officers of Customs are thereby authorised to stop all such commodities or merchandise from leaving our ports. The suspension of the trade in gunpowder and stores of war is a measure always resorted to in or before war, and was first legalised by an Act of Charles II. For an explanation of this Act see our Parliamentary report.

Preparations for war continue on all sides. The squadron of steam-transports hired by the Government from Southampton is fully equipped and ready for sea. The *Ripon*, *Manilla*, *Orinoco*, and *Emu*, are to embark troops and sail this day. It is expected that the *Himalaya* will proceed to Plymouth to take on board 1,300 men, and leave on Thursday. The Cunard steamer *Niagara* will take her departure from the Mersey to-day, with the 28th Regiment, about 1,000 strong, on board. The *Cambria* will leave Liverpool for Kingstown to-day, to take on board the 50th Regiment to-morrow, and sail on Friday. It is now understood that a second force will be immediately got ready, and that the total army sent to the East will be from 24,000 to 25,000 men. On Monday morning, at eleven o'clock, the 1st battalion of the Fusiliers, and the 3d of the Grenadier Guards, were reviewed at the Wellington Barracks by his Royal Highness Prince Albert, previous to their departure for the Mediterranean.

The principal staff appointments for the expedition to the East were finally determined on at the Horse Guards on Friday. Lord Raglan takes the chief command of the British auxiliary force, which will consist of two divisions, one under General Brown, the other under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. Colonels Bentinck, Eyre, Airey, and Sir Colin Campbell, go out as Brigadiers; Colonel Sullivan as Adjutant-General; Colonel Cator in command of the Artillery, and Colonel Victor in command of the corps of Engineers. Lieutenant-Colonel Dacres, Lieutenant-Colonel Bloomfield, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lake, go out under Colonel Cator; General Wetherall, as Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General, and Dr. Smith as head of the medical department. It is stated that the entire force will be armed with the Minié rifle, and that the whole machinery of the training school at Hythe will be transported to Malta, in order to teach the troops the perfect use of that formidable weapon.

The authorities of the Horse Guards have been quite inundated with volunteers proffering their services in every rank of the military profession. In Ireland the authorities are embarrassed with the number of persons offering themselves as recruits. Several of the corporals of the Scots Fusilier Guards, who were not required to go with the regiment, were reduced to the ranks at their own special request, in order that they might be eligible to march with their comrades to the seat of war. Those who get very enthusiastic about prospective military operations on the Danube would do well to remember the 1,000 yards of adhesive plaster, and several bales of lint, which form a necessary part of the expedition to the East.

INSURRECTION IN ALBANIA.

The *Times* asserts that a wide-spread combination is in existence for the purpose of asserting the national and spiritual rights of the various Christian races who still live under Mahomedan laws. Already signs of insurrection have been given in Albania, and the Turkish garrison at Arta is besieged by a detachment of Greek insurgents, led by the son of one of the chiefs in the Hellenic contest. "This occurrence is the commencement of an extensive plan of operations, which only awaits a suitable opportunity to be carried into execution. Considerable funds have been raised by the wealthy Greeks in different parts of the world, and the intended insurrection has been concerted and prepared by men of ability and energy, who are resolved to devote their lives to the national cause."

A letter from Athens of the 2nd states that several arrests have been made in the southern provinces of the kingdom of Greece, among the insurgent chiefs, who are endeavouring to excite the people against Turkey.

RUSSIA.

Before the fifth corps d'armée marched from Moscow, the Patriarch issued a fanatical address to the soldiers. He told them that Russia was again "provoked" by the enemy so often vanquished; that "the Czar, the country, and Christianity, called upon them;" that their brothers had already revived the old habit of beating their enemies by land and sea; that they would fight for the "most pious" of Czars, against the profaners of the cities that had seen the birth, passion, and resur-

rection of Christ; and that they would go forth followed by the prayers of the Church; and now if ever victory was due to them—by faith they would conquer.

"We bid you farewell (he concludes) with our prayers and with the symbol of faith. In former times, Sergius, an old and venerable father and predecessor, who ever lives for Russia, blessed the victorious contest of your ancestors against the oppressors of the country. The holy image was carried in our regiments under the Czars Alexis, Peter I., and Alexander I., in the great battles against twenty nations. Let the image of the venerable Sergius accompany you, as a pledge of the pressing and efficacious prayers which he is addressing to God for you. Carry with you and recollect the warlike and victorious speech of the Czar Prophet David—'Salvation and Glory is in God'—Psalm 41."

A telegraphic despatch from Paris says, that "on the 27th January the Emperor Nicholas addressed a letter to Prince Cholutoff, the Hetman of the Don Cossacks, in which the following phrases occur:—'In the war which has broken out in defence of the Christian faith, my brave Cossacks of the Don have given new proofs of their devotion and valour. The glorious history of their faithful service to the throne and country is well known; and I have a firm conviction that during the present year they will be, as they have always been, the terror of the foes of Russia and of the Holy Cross.'"

Letters from St. Petersburg of the 10th state that a financial crisis prevails in that city. Money has become extremely scarce, and most of the transactions have been adjourned. Trade is completely paralysed. Nothing but paper is seen, and the principal houses avoid engaging in any important operation. War is considered inevitable; it is, however, anything but popular in that capital. The best troops have been marched to the seaports, where immense quantities of munitions of war are being accumulated. If a collision takes place, it will be terrible and decisive, for Russia is displaying all her resources. A forced loan is contemplated. Foreigners are quitting St. Petersburg and Moscow *en masse*. In this last city, the war party is predominant, not among the upper classes, but among the people. The efforts made at St. Petersburg to excite enthusiasm for the affair at Sinope have not been successful. A subscription was opened to purchase a sword of honour for Admiral Nakimoff, but it was so coldly received that it was abandoned. The Czar is greatly esteemed by the multitude. By advices of the 3rd from Odessa, we learn that the van of the sixth army corps, which some months since quitted Moscow, passed the northern frontier of Bessarabia on the 31st Jan., under the command of Gen. Skobeltsyne. The reserve corps, under General Tscheodeaieff, will not be able to follow for some weeks, but still the troops in Bessarabia have received orders to enter the Principalities.

THE THEATRE OF WAR.

There is every reason to believe, says the *Times*, that the Russian fleet has been withdrawn from the navigation of the Black Sea, on the ground that it is accustomed to pass the dangerous months of January, February, and a part of March in harbour; the chance of a maritime collision has therefore diminished for the present, as none occurred on the first appearance of the combined squadrons beyond the Bosphorus. Some other cause, still imperfectly known, appears to suspend the operations of the Russian army on the Danube, and, though a general attack on the Turkish position at Kalafat has been announced for several weeks, and is doubtless still impending, Prince Gortschakoff had not advanced, by the last accounts, beyond a general reconnaissance of the place. The result, it is said, is the expression of an opinion by General Schilders that the position, admirably fortified by the Turks, is impregnable in the front, and that it will be necessary, forcibly or otherwise, to obtain a passage across Servia to march against it.

The Turkish camp at Sophia is said to be broken up, and the troops have marched in the direction of Widdin. The reserves at Shumla have been divided into four corps, and sent to Rasgrad, Turtukai, Silistria, and Sistow.

On the 6th, several large English and four French steamers went from the Bosphorus into the Black Sea, conveying eight Turkish steamers and ten sailing vessels, with 7,000 troops and ammunition, to Batoum. One English and one French steamer had gone to Varna.

The report of an attack on Chefkatil (Fort St. Nicholas), after the combined fleets left for the Bosphorus, is not correct. It was on the 3d January that the fleets entered the Black Sea. It was on the 6th that the Russians cannonaded St. Nicholas. The allied commanders heard of this, and, expecting to catch the Russians in an act of war, the ships conveying the Turkish transports to Batoum set out from Sinope with guns shotted, in the hope of a brush. But the Russians had been severely handled by the fortress, and did not wait for the French and British ships. It is stated, that on the 19th of January, the Russians made a land attack on the fort, and were repulsed with great slaughter. There would appear to be good reason for the withdrawal, at least, of the sailing ships from the Black Sea. During January and February the Russian ships always keep in their harbours. The fog, the short chopping seas, the sudden gusts, and the dangerous coasts, render sailing all but impossible. The Admirals seem to have determined to command the sea and the Russian ports with steamers.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

Mehemet Pasha, formerly ambassador in London, has been named Capudan Pasha, in the room of Riza Pasha, whose nomination to the post of Seraskier has been very well received by the public and the army. He was engaged in the war of 1828; was Governor of Widdin when the Hungarian exiles arrived; and when the present war threatened, he organised the nucleus of the army now stationed on the Danube. The new Seraskier has decided on turning 30,000 Bashi Bazuks, or irregulars, into regular troops, and

on sending them to the army in Asia. He has also decided on admitting Christians into the service.

Prince Wassiltschikoff, Aide-de-camp General of the Emperor of Russia, has arrived at Vienna.

Prince Alexander, the Hospodar of Servia, arrived at Vienna on Wednesday, 1st inst, accompanied by his Minister for Foreign Affairs. It is supposed the former will ask for a corps of Austrians to occupy Servia in the event of a Russian invasion in that territory. The feeling in Vienna is, that the preparations of Austria are more for war than an armed neutrality; and the effect of this feeling is evident in the fall of the exchange—4 per cent. in forty-eight hours.

The Turko-Egyptian officers who had arrived at Vienna were not those captured at Sinope, but in the Egyptian frigate, "Pevasi-Bahri. They have placed themselves under the protection of the Turkish ambassador.

The *Suisse de Berne* states that the Swiss general, Salis, who has been attempting, in the interest of Russia, in whose army he is now serving, to raise a regiment of Greek Christians in Bulgaria, has completely failed in the undertaking.

The idea prevails among the Russian soldiers that they are on their way to the Holy Land, to rescue it from the hands of infidels. On the march of one of the early corps into the Principalities, a party of soldiers halted at a house to beg for a draught of water. After their thirst was satisfied, they asked, with great simplicity, but with all apparent sincerity, whether they were far from Jerusalem, for which they were on their march, and they were told they would reach it in one or two days more.

It was reported at Constantinople that five ships of war of the United States would shortly arrive there.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The visit of the Duke and Duchess of Brabant to Paris, it is now stated, is abandoned, or at least postponed. It appears that the parties concerned feel some alarm at the idea of allowing an Archduchess of Austria to visit Paris. It is now reported that it is the King of the Belgians himself who will come to Paris.

The *Himalaya* made the passage from Malta to Alexandria in sixty-one hours; the shortest time, by eight hours, in which the voyage has ever been performed.

At the departure of the *Great Britain*, an electric telegraph had been established from Melbourne to Williamstown; the railway from Hobson's Bay was progressing; and it was proposed to cut a ship-canal to communicate between Melbourne and the sea.

The telegraphic communication between Piedmont and Lombardy, Trieste, Venice, and all the other countries forming part of the Austro-Germanic line, was opened on the 9th.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Times* says that the publication of the Blue Book on the Russo-Turkish question has produced an excellent effect in Germany, and raised English statesmanship in the eyes of foreigners. The *National Zeitung*, a journal which has been in the habit of snubbing John Bull, now talks about Queen Victoria's "ordination" to oppose "the Muscovite universal monarchy."—"Her victory this time will be the victory of peoples, the victory of all nations."

Austria will not relax her stupid vindictive policy. The blockade established for the last year by the Austrian Government on the frontier of the canton of Ticino is maintained with the same rigour as ever, and every movement of persons and merchandise continues to be prohibited by the numerous bodies of troops who occupy that line. Penury is great in the canton of Ticino, but it appears to be borne with heroic resignation; and the charitable gifts and donations sent by the other cantons and the Swiss citizens who are in foreign countries afford some relief to the general suffering. The Federal Government itself contributes large sums to carry on public works of utility, and for the encouragement of industry.

The Evangelical Society of Genoa lately purchased an abandoned Roman Catholic Church in Turin, to open as a Protestant place of worship; but the devout clergy of the Church of Rome, who had seen no harm in its being used as a shop and stable for so many years, took immediate alarm. They appealed to their archbishop, who, though a man of liberal opinions, thought it right to forward their views, and, as the story goes, the ministry was by him induced to interfere, and beg the society to renounce its claim to the purchase in order to avoid a scandal in the Church!

A waterlogged vessel from Liverpool, bound for Savannah, was fallen in with, a few days ago, some twenty miles off the coast of Ireland. She was completely dismantled, and her unfortunate crew, or rather what remained of them, were in the most extreme state of exhaustion. They had been no fewer than eleven days and a-half without food or water, and their sufferings in consequence, together with the long exposure to cold, had been truly frightful. Six of the crew, including the master, had died from starvation two or three days previously.

The *Madrid Gazette* announces that the names of Generals Jose de la Concha and O'Donnell are erased from the *Army List*.

The Emperor of the French has forwarded a sum of 100,000*fr.* to the Prefect of Police for distribution at the residences of artisans out of work and the needy families of the capital.

The old Anglophobia of the French has given place to a veritable Anglomania.

The Parisian *Bœuf Gras* for this year has received the name of Prince Menschikoff.

There is not now a betting-house in London ostensibly carrying on a nefarious trade.

THE INCREASED ESTIMATES.

The estimates for our warlike establishments for the next year have been published, and eagerly scanned.

The grand total to be asked for the navy is £7,487,948, which is an increase of nearly a million and a quarter as compared with the previous year (£1,202,455). The chief items of increase are in wages and victuals for seamen and marines, the first being £456,435, and the latter £254,898; the totals being—wages, £2,192,671; victuals, £870,324. The number of men is 41,000 seamen, 2,000 boys, and 15,500 marines. Running an eye down the statement of which this charge for seamen affords the first, and only vital, entry, we come (says the *Daily News*) to those enormous amounts set down for "dead weight," which have heretofore—and ever will hereafter, whilst they last—provoke the ire of all honest reformers. "Her Majesty's establishments at home"—"her Majesty's establishments abroad"—"Naval stores, and building and repairing of ships"—"New works, improvements (?), and repairs"—swallow up the customary huge sums. Naval stores and "building and repairing of ships,"—though we have already 573 ships in the Navy List,—is entered at £1,142,732. Then, again, we have, first, £657,575 charged for "half-pay and retirements;" then £476,659 put down for "pensions and allowances;" and, finally, as a crowning scandal, no less than £148,798 as one year's expenditure for "Civil pensions and allowances." Who are the people that swallow up this sum?—a sum that, if paid at all, belongs to the men who do the naval work of their country at sea. A hundred and forty-eight thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight pounds is surely too much to tag on to the stern of a huge naval estimate, as the pension-money and allowances of a squad of tarry-at-home idlers.

We learn from the army estimates that the number of men and officers proposed to be maintained for the service of the United Kingdom, for the ensuing year, is 112,977. The charge for this effective force is £4,859,925, of which nearly a million is charged upon the revenues of India and Australia for troops employed in those colonies. The exact cost of the active land force is thus left at £3,923,288—an increase of £297,505 over last year. For that increase we are to get the services of 10,694 additional soldiers. The distribution and results of the proposed augmentation may be analyzed as follows:—Excluding regiments taken into the pay of the East India Company, the total numbers of all ranks to be maintained were, in 1853, 102,283, whereas in the present year they are set at 112,977. These forces are divided into life and horse guards, cavalry of the line, foot guards, infantry of the line, West India regiments, and colonial corps. Of these the life and horse guards and West India regiments remain without any change in number or cost, and the colonial corps show a decrease of some 300 men, with a proportionate alleviation of charge. In the cavalry of the line, too, there is a slight diminution of numbers. The weight of the augmentation, therefore, is thrown upon the foot guards and the infantry of the line. In 1853 the former mustered 5,260 of all ranks, who figured in the estimates for £191,271; for the ensuing year they are set at 6,478 in numbers, and £221,633 in charge. It deserves, however, to be remarked that there is no addition to the numbers of the officers, which remain precisely as before. The troops at home number 64,795 rank and file—horse, foot, and recruiting troops included—of which 9,086 have yet to be obtained as recruits. Supposing, therefore, 20,000 men are sent abroad, 40,000 will remain "at home," exclusive of marines, artillery, and militia. But though the charge for the effective force—including £88,000 for volunteer corps—is but little more than four millions sterling, the total sum to be voted is over six millions and a quarter—this total being made up by the "dead weight." The "staff" swallow £151,382; the "public departments" absorb £105,093; and the "Royal Military College" takes £17,401; the "Royal Military Asylum" enjoys £20,756. These different sums are all set down for "effective services." Under the "non-effective" headings we have an ingenious play upon words, says the *Daily News*, to avoid apparently the setting down in a single line, in plain English, the plain truth, that the military dead weight absorbs the enormous sum of £1,981,555 sterling. Next we come to "Full Pay of Retired Officers, £49,000." Why are they retired officers? Were so many officers appointed that there was nothing for them all to do, and they were put upon full pay and idleness to get rid of them? If veterans unfit for service, why are they not put down as pensioners at once? It would probably (says our contemporary) be a simple task to show how the "dead weight" could be reduced to a third or fourth of its present amount, and how, by a proper employment of our 573 ships of war, and a due concentration of moveable forces, we could get a thoroughly efficient military power—paying and clothing the men on service better than we now do—for, perhaps, two-thirds of our existing military outlay.

The increase in the ordnance estimates is £792,311. Pay and allowances amount to £902,817—an increase of £92,310 upon the previous year. The expense of recruiting alone is set down at £40,000. The ordnance stores for land and sea service show an increase of £207,855; a considerable proportion of which (£180,000) is for "machinery and buildings for the manufacture of small arms;" the cost of "improving the artillery practice" is set down at £85,000. There is an increase of £27,155 upon the vote for the scientific branch, the sum to be voted being £154,368. The ordnance surveys of the United Kingdom absorb the bulk of this vote. The superannuation and pension votes, £171,466, close the estimates.

The following is a summary of the total amount which Parliament is asked to vote for the year commencing on the 1st of April next, and the extent to which that is an increase on the vote taken last year:—

| | Proposed Vote. | Increase. |
|----------------|----------------|------------|
| Army | £6,287,486 | £262,470 |
| Navy | 7,487,948 | 1,202,455 |
| Ordnance | 3,845,878 | 792,311 |
| | £17,621,312 | £2,257,236 |

NATIONAL FREEHOLD LAND SOCIETY.

On Thursday evening the annual meeting of the members of this society took place at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street. The large room was crowded to excess, and on the platform were several persons of distinction including Mr. Cobden, M.P., and Mr. Wilkinson, M.P.

Sir JOSHUA WALMSLEY occupied the chair, and in moving the adoption of the report, said he was happy to congratulate the meeting of the unexampled success of the society, exhibited by the facts and figures contained in the report. For the seventeen months expiring 31st October, 1850, the society had issued 5,019 shares; for the twelve months ending 31st October, 1851, they had issued 9,831 shares; for the twelve months ending 31st October, 1852, they had issued 22,251 shares; and for the twelve months ending 31st October, 1853, they had issued 29,742 shares, or a total number of 66,843 shares. (Applause.) It would be seen from this that the society was steadily and prosperously progressing. The dividend had been fully and well maintained, amounting for the present year to £5 8s. 4d. The guarantee fund had also been materially increased, and they had now in hand, against all losses, £12,800. The money value of the estates now purchased and in hand was £193,000, and seeing that they were on the eve of possible vicissitudes, the amount of guarantee would not be considered too great. (Hear, hear.) Although the business of the society had so largely increased, the directors had been obliged to restrict the extent of it, so as to prevent it from becoming more than they could bear, and at the present time they had the large sum of £70,000 at their bankers to meet any case of emergency, and to secure the position of the society. The receipts of the last year were 50 per cent. more than those of the former one, and nearly equal to the total receipts of the previous three years. The report was adopted, and several gentlemen addressed the meeting. Amongst them was Mr. COBDEN, who, in acknowledging a complimentary vote which had been passed to the directors, observed that they had been told there was a balance of £70,000 in the bank, and he thought that circumstance alone entitled the directors to the confidence of the members. They ought to give the directors credit for prudence and caution on this account. He had himself been an advocate for certain restrictions in the mode of conducting the business, and had shown himself more particularly in favour of suspending their operations in the purchase of land, in consequence of the threatening aspect of affairs in the East—for he believed that any general war would spread confusion throughout Europe, and tend to paralyse the affairs of this country, by interfering with the employment of its citizens, and causing a panic among its capitalists. This state of things would, of course, affect freehold land estates, situated in towns, to a greater extent than those situated in rural districts, although there could be no doubt all would be more or less injured. The hon. gentleman then entered into the general principles of freehold land societies, and observed that he thought the new reform bill proposed by Lord John Russell was a good measure in some respects, but he took certain exceptions to it. He was of opinion, for instance, that the artisan in the receipt of two guineas a week was as fully entitled to the franchise as the clerk who received one hundred a year. He hoped that freehold land societies generally were exercising providence in the control of their affairs, for when he saw them springing up so numerous, he could not help praying that their managers might see the necessity of prudence and economy.

A discussion took place, and several facts were elicited which tended to prove that the society was in a flourishing condition, and that its affairs were judiciously and satisfactorily managed.

The meeting then separated, with a vote of thanks to the chairman and a cheer for Mr. Cobden.

THE PRESTON STRIKE.

The chief event of the week has been the resumption of work at Mr. Hollins's Royal Sovereign Mill. An interview between that gentleman and the operatives resulted in mutual concessions, and an arrangement as to prices, satisfactory to both employer and employed. The hands recommenced work, entering the mill amid the hearty acclamations of a vast crowd, numbering several thousands, assembled to witness the gratifying scene. Messrs. Gratrix, brothers, have also made an arrangement with their operatives.

A notice has been placarded by the committee of the Masters' Association, to the following effect:—"All persons desirous of obtaining employment may rely upon the assurance already given by the Associated Masters, that the mills will be kept at work, and that those engaged at the several mills may depend upon a continuance of work." The committee entrusted with the management of the defence fund intimate that the masters will continue to keep open their mills "at whatever sacrifice," adding, the most vigorous measures are being adopted by the committee to contribute to an early termination of the dispute."

It appears from the reports that the number of unemployed hands relieved last week from the Trades' Union Fund was 15,567; decrease, 308. The amount disbursed in relief was £3,454 6s. 10d.; increase, £461 14s. 4d.

A magnificent stained glass window has been erected in Worcester Cathedral, in memory of the late Queen Adelaide.

Correspondence.

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—As a poor working man, I trust that you will allow me to say a few words respecting the education of the lower classes of this and other countries. By the kindness of a friend, I have an occasional glance at the *Nonconformist*. I find that Mr. Cobden has referred to the superiority of the American to the Englishman as arising from education. This I positively deny. I spent some years in America, and I never saw the American working-man to whom I was second in education; with English workmen I often find myself low in the scale of education. The superiority of some of the American manufactures arises from the superior liberty which the American workman enjoys in following his own methods. The Boss (the term given to the master) never asks his workman if he is a freeman of the City of London, or if he served seven years' apprenticeship. The consequence of this is, that any person is at liberty to follow his taste for any particular branch of business. There are no stereotyped methods of working in America, and the result is satisfactory, though attended occasionally by blunders. I can put Mr. Cobden in the way to find as great ignorance in America as exists in any heathen agricultural parish in England. A very great portion of the best educated people in America are natives of Great Britain and Ireland, and the fact of a man emigrating is itself sufficient to show his intelligence. Mr. Cobden may find English labourers, as farmers in America, far above his boasted Scotch brother in everything affecting farming. The Irish people in America are undoubtedly the best educated. The most helpless, filthy, and degraded people, that arrive in America, are those from the most highly-educated portions of the Continent. I need only remind such of your readers as have seen them on the canals, to confirm the above statement. One more fact in reference to American education. I ask if an educated man is a philanthropist? Is a philanthropist a soldier? There is no nation in the world more given to military glory than the people of the United States. It is looked upon as a disgrace to be called upon to serve in the militia. All the citizens belong to independent companies. The love of excitement is inherent, and the noise they make at a fire in the towns is more terrible than the fire itself. If Mr. Cobden will take a tour through America, beginning at New England or Canada, he will find the English workman not such a beast as he is said to be. Many of the English adopt the costume and nasal tone of the New Englander, so that it is impossible to distinguish them if allied in features. England is in advance of America in respect to religious teachers. The preachers in America, whether a Popish priest or a Methodist preacher, wear a peculiar garb, and, consequently, they are exempted from paying fares. All sects don't take advantage of it. Sir, I was educated in a parochial or parish school, and having none to enlighten our heathenish village in schoolology, I trust you will excuse blunders.

February, 1854.

A WORKING MAN.

P.S.—I can give Mr. Cobden references, if needed, in America.

Accidents and Offences.

There has been another very severe gale at Liverpool from the north-west, with showers of hail, snow, and rain. Many vessels and lives were lost. The steamship *Alps*, Captain Little, which should have sailed about eleven o'clock, with the usual mails for Halifax and Boston, was prevented from putting to sea by the violence of the gale.

Several vessels have also been lost off the Norfolk coast. A great number of casualties and damage to shipping has occurred in the harbours of the northern ports, by tiers of vessels being forced away from their moorings by the fury of the gale. Eight coasting vessels are said to be ashore within a few miles northward of Whistling, with the loss of several of their crews.

The canal from Sheffield to Tinsley, a distance of about four miles, where it joins the River Dun Company's navigation, suddenly burst, within half a mile of its Sheffield terminus, on Thursday night, and caused great damage by the inundation of the extensive warehouses and works of Messrs. Turton and Sons, the manufactory of Messrs. Eyre, Ward, and Co., a number of cottages and a public-house lying between the canal bank and the river Dun. Some houses were in a few minutes five feet deep in water. The inmates were mostly in bed, but were aroused and enabled to escape. With such velocity did the stream escape through the aperture that, by noon on Friday, the whole volume of water contained in the two miles and a-half of canal had been reduced from a depth of eight feet to within a few inches of the bottom. The whole of the lower part of Messrs. Turton and Son's works are yet under water, and the business almost entirely suspended. The amount of damage sustained by the inundation, it is feared, will not be less than £2,000 or £3,000.

A burglary has taken place at 15, Gresham-street, in the occupation of Messrs. James Hargrave and Sons, shawl manufacturers. The thieves took from the counting-house bank-notes, bills of exchange, and other documents to the value of upwards of £5,000, and silk handkerchiefs are missing to the value of £350. It is stated that the police officers have obtained some clue to the thieves, for whose apprehension a reward has been offered.

It is feared that not less than one hundred lives have been lost by an explosion of carburetted hydrogen at the Adley mine, belonging to the Ince Hall Coal Company, near Wigan, on Saturday afternoon. Up to Sunday night eighty-six dead bodies had been reco-

vered, and it is thought many more are yet in the mine.

Mr. Thomas Goalen, lately chief officer in the audit department of the North-Western Railway, was re-examined by the Marylebone magistrate on Wednesday, on charges of defrauding the company of upwards of £3,500. The evidence adduced bore hard upon the accused. He offered no defence; and he was remanded preparatory to committal.

Mary Parvin, wife of a fisherman at Boston, has been found drowned in a small cistern. While she was trying to dip some water out with a jug, she overbalanced herself and fell in—the lid closing upon her leg and quite preventing her escape. Her body was found by her son, soon after the accident.

Court, Personal, and Political News.

At a Court held in Buckingham Palace on Thursday, General d'Oxholm, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of Denmark, was presented to the Queen by Lord Clarendon, and had his first audience. Dr. John Bowring, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Hong-Kong, Plenipotentiary and Chief Superintendent of British Trade in China, was knighted by the Queen, and took his leave. Sir John left town on Saturday, for Southampton. At a Privy Council on Saturday, the Queen gave audiences to Sir James Graham, the Earl of Aberdeen, Earl Granville, and the Duke of Newcastle. In the evening the Queen had a dinner party at Buckingham Palace. The company included the Duke of Cambridge, the Austrian Minister, the Earl of Harrowby, the Earl of Ellenborough, Lord John Russell, the Bishop of London, Sir Charles Wood, and Capt. the Hon. J. Denman.

A deputation upon the subject of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill had an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Friday, at his official residence in Downing-street. The deputation consisted of Sir Elkanah Armitage, Mr. Alderman Watkins, and the Town Clerk of Manchester, and was accompanied by the Right Hon. T. M. Gibson, M.P., Mr. Bright, M.P., and Mr. Kershaw, M.P.

The personal property of the late R. H. Gurney, Esq., formerly member for Norwich and East Norfolk, in the Liberal interest, has been sworn at £500,000 in the province of Canterbury, and £25,000 in the province of York.

An accumulation of £15,000, and £1,600 a-year, arising from money orders and property in dead letters, is to be appropriated to the payment of part of the premium on the policies of such of the officers of the Post-office, in any part of the United Kingdom, as may insure their lives.

Mr. Bromley is appointed Accountant-General of the Navy; "a signal instance of proper promotion, awarded to an able officer."

On the 1st January, 1853, the number of paupers, —in-door and out-door—in the receipt of relief was 807,564, and on 1st January last, 818,822. The increase in the period was 25,494, and the decrease was 14,218; making the increase, after deducting the decrease, 11,276. The increase in respect to able-bodied adult paupers, in the year, was 8,430.

The Vote-by-Ballot Society held a spirited and successful meeting a few days ago at Cheltenham, Mr. Whitehurst and Mr. Barnes being the deputation from London.

The heads of Oxford University, seeing reform inevitable, are at length tardily proposing to reform themselves! A petition to the Queen is to be proposed to Convocate on Friday, praying for leave to amend or repeal the Laudian statutes generally as occasion may arise, and especially the statutes relating to the annual election of proctors and the nomination of collectors. But that which is of chief importance, is the prayer for leave to establish a second board or delegacy of Convocation, which shall have, like the existing heads of houses and proctors, the faculty of initiating measures, to be submitted to the votes of Convocation.

Mr. Chichester Fortescue, the new Lord of the Treasury, is likely to be re-elected triumphantly at Louth. Sixteen Roman Catholic priests have come forward with a manifesto refuting certain calumnies against Mr. Fortescue, disseminated by "strangers who have intruded into the county." The strangers are the friends of Mr. Cantwell, the candidate of the Lucas and Duffy faction. A strictly orthodox journal, alluding to that declaration, is so scandalized as to declare that "Irish politics are going to the dogs when the clergy of the people are thus to be found in opposite camps."

It appears by a Parliamentary return that the balance in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January, was 14,485,229.

Miscellaneous News.

The Bank of England will commence business at ten o'clock in the morning instead of nine, on and after the 1st of March. In all the banking-houses the hour between nine and ten is almost wasted; but it is not likely that the private bankers will be able to follow the example of the Bank of England; for, when it was known that some of them contemplated it, a remonstrance was sent from a number of great mercantile firms, headed by "J. Travers and Sons." The merchants say, that though few cheques may be presented before ten, yet those few are of the greatest importance, as they are intended for the payment of duties, and if the banks are closed till ten, serious delays will ensue. Subsequently a number of City bankers issued a reply, announcing that they had no intention of altering their hours, and were opposed to any alteration. The *Times* says, the real obstacle to the change is the rule of the Commissioners of Customs not to accept cheques in payment of duty; bank-

notes are required, exposing clerks to the danger of losing large sums in cash—it might be added, that it also exposes them to great temptations.

Dr. M'Hale, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, has issued a pastoral letter to his clergy, directing them to "make without delay a census of the relative numbers of Catholics and sectaries" in their respective parishes, "in order that tardy justice may at length be done to our heroic people, and that it may be known that, however the population has been diminished by famine and by forced emigration," the Catholics still retain in his diocese that relative superiority of number "which makes them emphatically the people of this country."

Mr. J. B. Hume, the chief commissioner on the Cholera in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, has made a calculation that the epidemic has cost the town £3,800 for medicine and burials alone, and would cost it £50 a-week for eight years to support the widows and destitute—nearly £30,000. In addition to this sum, he said, some thousands of pounds had been collected and distributed by the Vicar.

The boys of the Ragged School Shoeblack Society earned the sum of £853 by cleaning shoes in the streets during the year 1853. Of this, £470 was paid to the boys, £192 was deposited for them in a bank, and £191 was retained for expenses. The number of pairs of boots and shoes cleaned during the year was 204,750, or about 4,000 pairs every week by 36 boys.

The Duke of Newcastle is a real friend to the labouring people on his estates. At Workop he has provided work for those in want of it, at good wages, in clearing and trenching furze-brakes, as a preparative to planting. In different ways he employs, at Workop and Clumber, 250 people. He is building a village and lodging-house in the Tudor style for some of his labourers at Hardwick, where extensive draining operations are going on, converting wet land into irrigated meadows. The drainers are paid 3s. a-day. Farmhands are paid 16s. a-week, and have free cottages and other privileges.

A private joint-stock company, incorporated by royal charter, has been formed in Liverpool for the purpose of establishing a line of powerful screw-steamers, of which the "Great Britain" is to form one, between Liverpool and Australia.

It is understood (says the *Maidstone Gazette*) that all the large game preservers in our neighbourhood are about to discharge their keepers, and give up the occupation of preserving.

Victor Hugo, who is known to entertain a strong abhorrence of capital punishment, has addressed a letter to the Home Secretary, relative to the late frightful execution at Guernsey, in which island the distinguished writer resides. In one portion of the letter he bursts out:—"A man is hung: and what more? a coil of rope to be wound up; some timber-work to be taken to pieces, a corpse to be buried. Certainly these are great matters! We will fire the cannon, a little smoke in the East, and all will be over. A microscope will be required to detect Guernsey and Tapner. Gentlemen, this rope, this beam, this corpse, this dreadful though invisible gallows, this suffering, carry us into immensity. They involve the social question, which is more important than the political; they do more—they carry us beyond earth. That which is of little consequence is your cannon, your politics, and your smoke. The assassin who to-morrow becomes the victim, as a soul which takes its flight holding the end of the gallows-rope—it is this which is frightful. Statesmen, who between two protocols, two dinners, and two smiles, carelessly press with white-gloved hand the spring of the gibbet, and the trap falls under the feet of the victim. Know you what you do? The infinite appears; the unfathomable and the unknown; the mighty shade which rises suddenly and terribly beneath your littleness." He concludes with the words—"Democracy yesterday took the name of France; to-morrow it will take that of Europe. The eclipse does but conceal the increasing magnitude of the star."

On Thursday evening Exeter-hall was crowded with an audience which had met to hear a lecture from Father Gavazzi, upon Popery in America and England. Upon the lecturer ascending the platform, attired in a black gown, upon which was embroidered the tricolour of Italy, the applause was most enthusiastic. He said he had lately returned from America, where he left several streets under the interdict of Rome; his souvenir in north America was a sad one. The Jesuits were the cause. The lecturer then spoke of the acts of Rome, and then denounced the various means by which Popery was insidiously introduced into Protestant families. Throughout the whole of his lecture he was vehemently applauded.

The town of Derby (says a correspondent), was quite taken by surprise, when the public papers announced that a compromise had taken place in the Beresford bribery affair. Great indignation is felt, and a public meeting is called for Tuesday evening next, to enable the inhabitants to express their sense of the wrong done not only to themselves but the country, by thus allowing such gross criminality to pass unpunished. Very great excitement prevails, and one of the largest meetings ever held in Derby is anticipated.

Many memorials have recently been presented to the Lord Mayor from great landed proprietors in Lincolnshire, Northampton, Yorkshire, and Oxfordshire, and many farmers and graziers, praying that the market-day for the sale of cattle shall be altered from Monday to Tuesday. The Lord Mayor promised to present the memorial to the Common Council, and to support their prayer.

PRIESTLY CURSING IN LONDON.—A correspondent says:—"On Sunday, the 5th instant, after the eight o'clock mass at the Roman Catholic chapel in Duncannon-terrace, Islington, the Rev. F. Oakley, a Roman Catholic priest (an Oxford pervert), proceeded to the Irish courts in Islington, near the Angel, and after giving the Irish people a long lecture for sending their children

to the Protestant schools, pronounced the following curse:—"We hereby give notice, that if any persons, after this our solemn warning, do send their children to the Protestant schools (six schools were here named), or, if they have been already tempted to send them, do not instantly remove them, they shall be counted guilty of mortal sin; shall be refused all the rites and sacraments of the church; at death, the extreme unction shall be denied to them, and their bodies, either his or hers, refused burial in any cemetery belonging to the church. The curse of God shall rest upon them, body and soul, living or dead."—*Daily News*.

The Council of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, at a meeting on Monday, adopted a resolution in favour of an amendment of the law of partnership.

The nomination of candidates for the representation of Louth, took place on Monday, amidst prodigious uproar. Mr. Fortescue charged the Leaguers with coalescing with the Tories. Mr. Cardwell repudiated the charge. The polling takes place on Friday.

Gleanings.

The great Brazilian diamond recently received in this country has been exhibited to the Queen by the consignees. It is likely, when polished, to exceed in size and brilliancy the Koh-i-noor.

The reduction in the price of food in the Irish markets is continuous; from all parts full supplies and diminished rates are reported.

The Duke of Hamilton is about to build a spacious hotel in the opening of Glen Croy, one of the most romantic spots on the Isle of Arran.

Wednesday, the 24th of May, her Majesty's birthday, is fixed upon for the opening of the Crystal Palace. It is intended to issue tickets at the following prices:—Family season tickets, £6 6s.; for a gentleman, £3 3s.; for a lady, £2 2s. Preparations are being made for the commencement of the West End Crystal Palace Railway from Chelsea to Sydenham.

At a meeting of the Eastern Steam Navigation Company, on Wednesday, the Chairman stated that had their large ship, now building at Millwall, been ready, they could have offered to carry at once 10,000 troops to Constantinople!

In the parish of Fownhope, says the *Hereford Times*, the agricultural labourers' wives, and many of the single women, may be seen with long white trousers frilled and laced at the bottoms, and jackets on.

A merchant, examining a hoghead of hardware, on comparing it with the invoice, found it all right, except a hammer less than the invoice. "Och! don't be troubled," said the Irish porter, "sure the nagur took it out to open the hoghead with."

Among the petitions presented to the Encumbered Estate Commission last week, is one praying for the sale of an estate, the gross annual rental of which is £40 a-year, and the encumbrances on which reach the modest amount of between £38,000 and £39,000.

A gentleman named Dunlop being present at a party where one of the company had made several puns on the names of persons present, remarked that he had never heard his name punned upon, and did not believe it could be done. "There is nothing in the world more easy, Sir," replied the punster; "just lop off half the name, and it is *Dun*."

A correspondent of the *Boston Journal* (U.S.) writes:—"By simply wetting a silk handkerchief, and placing it over the face, a person can go through a dense smoke without inconvenience. I saw the statement about twenty years ago, and shortly after tried it, saving thousands of dollars by knowing where the fire was."

M. Dumas has announced to the Paris Academy of Sciences that M. Saint Clair Deville has obtained from clay a metal as white and brilliant as silver, as malleable as gold, as light as glass, and fusible at a moderate temperature. Air and damp do not affect it. Specimens were exhibited, and a sufficient sum was voted by the Academy to enable M. Deville to make experiments on a large scale.

"Speaking for Buncombe," or more briefly, "Bun-kum," is a phrase familiar to all Americans. Its origin was this. A member of Congress, who represented a district including the county of Buncombe in North Carolina, always thinned the house by his tedious harangues. On one occasion the members began to leave, which he assured them gave him no concern, as he was "not speaking to the House, but to Buncombe."

A telegraph company is announced, says the *Daily News*, that professes to be able, by still further economical arrangements, to transmit messages to all parts of the kingdom at the uniform rate of sixpence per message; and we have been informed that another company is forming which, at equally cheap rates, promises to transmit exact copies of the written messages, with every mark made by the correspondent at one end faithfully transferred to paper at the other. If this be done, it will be almost equal to the transmission of the letter itself along the telegraph wires.

The curious in such affairs are full of a new anagram which has just been discovered by the President of one of the committees of the arrondissement of Valenciennes. It consists of a transposition of the letters of the following sentence—"A sa Majesté Imperiale le Tzar Nicholas, Souverain et Autocrate de toutes les Russies"; and the result is—"Ta vanité sera ta perte; elle isole la Russie; tes successeurs te maudiront à jamais." It is asked, "which of our London aldermen would have distinguished himself by such an effort of genius?"

Among the many uses to which beetroot can be applied, is that of making pasteboard. A manufactory has just been established at Foulrin, in France.

A Swedish gentleman in Lund has constructed a new type-composing machine, which is said to succeed perfectly. He has left for England, where he will patent

his invention. The name of the mechanic is Wiberg. In Denmark also the machine of Sorensen (which was exhibited in the Crystal Palace) has been perfected, and will now be used.

Dr. Percy, of the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn-street, has been, during the past year, devoting himself to an examination of lead, lead ores, and lead compounds, with the object of discovering the presence in all these of gold. Universally gold has been discovered in every specimen hitherto examined by Dr. Percy; even soluble lead compounds are auriferous. Dr. Percy hazards the speculation that gold may be discovered as a universal constituent of sea-water.

Blunders in telegraphic messages are frequent, and sometimes serious. A gentleman at Edinburgh received a message informing him that he should be in Edinburgh that afternoon. As he was already there, and had no intention of departing, there needed no telegraph to tell him that; but in the course of the day the mystification was cleared by the arrival of the gentleman's better half. The telegraph clerk transmitted only the surname, leaving the clerk in Edinburgh to supply Mr., Mrs., or Miss, at discretion. An invalid gentleman announced to his friends his state of health, and his intended movements, in the following brief form:—"All well. At Northampton on Thursday." By the omission of punctuation and capitals the message received in London was, "All well at Northampton on Thursday." A more serious mistake arose on the transmission from Newcastle of the price of two boats offered for sale. The message received stated the price to be £200. An order to purchase was immediately transmitted, but it was afterwards found that owing to the omission of the word "each," double the sum intended had been paid by the agent.

Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, tells a good story of Lord Eldon:—"Travelling the circuit with a companion, who, according to a custom not uncommon in those days, always carried pistols with him and placed them under his pillow, they slept one night at an inn, and at dawn of day Mr. Scott discovered in his bedroom a man's figure, seemingly dressed in black. The intruder, being sharply challenged, said, "Please your honour, I am only a poor sweep, and I believe I've come down the wrong chimney." "My friend," was the reply, "you have come down the right, for I give you a sixpence to buy a pot of beer; while the gentleman in the next room sleeps with pistols under his pillow, and had you paid him a visit, he would have blown your brains out."

BIRTHS.

December 27th 1853, at the Mission-house, First-hill, Jamaica, the wife of the Rev. JAMES MILNE, of the London Missionary Society, of a daughter.

January 4th, at the Baptist Mission-house, Brown's Town, Jamaica, the wife of the Rev. JOHN CLARK, of a daughter.

February 20th, the wife of CALEB HIGGS, of Surrey Cottage, Kennington, and Worcester-park, Chesham, Surrey, of a son.

February 20th, at Lower Clapton, Mrs. T. T. CURWEN, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

October 24th, 1853, in the Congregational Church, Sydney, New South Wales, by the Rev. Dr. ROSS, CHARLES JOHN, eldest son of JOHN FAIRFAX, Esq., to ANN, eldest daughter of Mr. WILLIAM FAIRFAX, of Leamington Priory, Warwickshire.

February 13th, at the Snowhill Congregational Church, Wolverhampton, by the Rev. W. BEVERN, Mr. R. PARKES, to ELIZABETH, daughter of the late Mr. WILLIAMS, both of that town.

February 15th, at the National Scotch Church, Regent's-square, by the Rev. James Hamilton D.D., brother-in-law of the bride, CHARLES MITCHELL, son of ROBERT CHARLES, Esq., of 5, Tavilton-street, Gordon-square, to HELEN BARBARA, second daughter of the late JOHN MOORE, Esq., of Calcutta.

February 15th, at Ramsden-street Chapel, Huddersfield, by the Rev. B. SKINNER, Mr. T. FREEMAN FIRTH, son of EDWIN FIRTH, Esq., of Heckmondwike, to HANNAH MARIA, third daughter of WILLIAM WILLIAMS, Esq., of Huddersfield.

DEATHS.

February 11th, at Couper-Angus, aged 82, the Rev. Dr. BRUNTON, late Professor of Oriental Literature in the Edinburgh University. An attack of paralysis led to his resignation of the chair some years ago. He was a man held in high esteem by all classes and denominations; and, until arrested by the hand of disease, his life was passed in the active and faithful discharge of his numerous duties.

February 11th, aged more than 80, SADI OMBARK BEMREY, beloved and lamented by all who knew him. Sadi originally came to this country with the celebrated African traveller Mungo Park, whom he instructed in the Arabic language.

February 13th, suddenly, at the residence of her son, Rev. Henry Stacey, Hill-house, Abbot's Roothing, Essex, ALICE HAYLETT, aged 76.

February 13th, at 8, Pollok-street, Glasgow, Mrs. MARY GLASSFORD, aged 40, wife of MATTHEW GLASSFORD, Esq., of that town.

February 14th, after a short but severe illness, in the 36th year of her age, SARAH, the beloved wife of the Rev. THOMAS WILKINSON, pastor of the Baptist Church, Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, and sister of the Revs. J. Teall, of Hatch Beauchamp, Somerset, and Wm. Teall, of Lucca, Jamaica.

February 14th, at Paris, JOHN WILLIAMSON, Esq., late of Boughton-lodge, Chester, in the 68th year of his age.

February 15th, at Theddington, of typhus fever, aged 19, LUCY WEST, the third and beloved daughter of Mr. JOHN SKEETON, of the former place.

February 15th, at Richmond-on-Thames, aged 68, HANNAH ELIZA, widow of the late WILLIAM STANLEY ROSCOE, Esq., of Liverpool.

February 15th, ANNIE PERRY, the infant daughter of ROBERT Aikenhead, Baptist Minister, Bromsgrove, aged 10 months.

February 16th at Cirencester, JOHN BREWIN, in his 79th year—a member of the Society of Friends.

February 16th, at the Grange, Upper Norwood, ELIZABETH, the beloved wife of Mr. DAVID FLETCHER, late of Denmark-hill.

February 17th, at Saffron Walden, Mr. WILLIAM SHELFORD BARNES, aged 70.

February 19th, at Market Harborough, GEORGE HENRY, son of Mr. THOS. G. GRUNDY, aged 3 years and 10 months.

February 19th, at her residence, ELIZABETH HAWKINS, widow of the Rev. H. HAWKINS, aged 84.

Money Market & Commercial Intelligence.

CITY, Tuesday evening.

Since the settlement of the Consols account on Wednesday, there has been a flatter tone, because the dealers have ventured again to sell, having, until the 16th March, to obtain an advantage from the chapter of

accidents. The Unfunded Debt has been up 1s. to 2s., Bank Stock has risen, and India Stock is £3 to £4 better. The Exchequer Bills due next month will be renewed at 2d. per cent. per diem. The last Consol account began January 18, and ended February 16. The greatest fluctuation, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., was on the 25th ult. and the 3rd inst. The highest price, $92\frac{1}{2}$, was on the first day of the account, $92\frac{1}{2}$, and the lowest on the 24th ult, $89\frac{1}{2}$.

The increasing prospect of war has caused a decline in Consols during the last few days though not so great as might have been expected. On Saturday prices receded from $91\frac{1}{2}$ to $91\frac{1}{4}$, but the market was quiet. Yesterday the definite announcement of the Emperor of Russia having refused the last propositions offered to him, caused a fall in the English funds of more than a half per cent. To-day prices are maintained with some degree of firmness. The continued scarcity of money stock, with numerous purchases on the public, prevent any great depression arising from the gravity of the present aspect of affairs.

Foreign Stocks are flat, with lower quotations in most instances. Russian Five per Cents. have fallen 3 per cent., being now at 99; do. $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cents. are down to 85; Sardinian Five per Cents., $83\frac{1}{2}$; Mexican Three per Cents. remain at $24\frac{1}{2}$; Chilean 6 per Cents. are at 101; Danish 3 per Cents., $80\frac{1}{2}$; Dutch $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cents. have reduced to 60, and the 4 per Cent. Certificates to 91; Spanish 3 per Cents. Deferred, $18\frac{1}{2}$; ditto, Passive, $3\frac{1}{2}$ 4.

The Railway market has been dull and inactive, but little variation in prices. A few of the leading shares are a trifle lower. Caledonians have improved an eighth; Eastern Counties have also improved an eighth; Great Northerns have fallen 11., and Great Westerns, 10s. Lancashire and Yorkshire remain at $65\frac{1}{2}$. London and Brighton have receded to 96. London and North Western are firm at $103\frac{1}{2}$. Midlands unchanged at $62\frac{1}{2}$. South Eastern also remain at $62\frac{1}{2}$. York, Newcastle and Berwick have fallen 10s. York and North Midlands with alteration at $48\frac{1}{2}$. French Shares are lower and very flat. Northern of France, $28\frac{1}{2}$. Paris and Lyons, $21\frac{1}{2}$. Paris and Strasburg, 28.

The Gold Mining Share Market has been inactive. British Australian Gold is quoted at $\frac{1}{2}$. Colonial Gold has improved $\frac{1}{2}$. Australian Agriculturals have fallen to $40\frac{1}{2}$. Peel River, $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.

The details of the condition of trade in the manufacturing towns during the past week show no material change. At Manchester the market has been quiet, but firm, with an improved export business, chiefly for India. Birmingham enjoys unabated prosperity both in its iron and general manufactures. At Nottingham considerable dullness still prevails, but affairs are thoroughly sound, from the long absence of speculation. In the woollen districts the home demand, as well as that for the United States and Canada, continues good, and prices are strongly maintained. The Irish linen markets have presented no alteration.

The departures from the port of London for the Australian colonies during the past week show an increase. They have comprised altogether seven vessels,—four to Port Phillip, with an aggregate burden of 3,180 tons; two to Adelaide, with an aggregate burden of 1,101 tons; and one to Sydney, of 1,022 tons. Their total capacity was consequently 5,303 tons. No material variation has occurred in the rates of freight.

In the general business of the port of London during the past week there has been rather more activity than for some time past. The number of vessels reported inward was 122, being 22 over the previous week. Of grain there were reported 35,721 quarters, including 16,775 quarters of wheat; of flour, 9,041 barrels and 100 sacks; of coffee, 798 bags and 64 casks; of sugar, 24,347 bags, 575 hhd., 100 cases, and 1,863 casks; and of tea, 33,831 packages. The number of vessels cleared outward was 84, being 17 over the previous week. Of these 17 were in ballast, and seven, as above stated, for the Australian colonies.

PROGRESS OF THE STOCKS DURING THE WEEK.

| | Wed. | Thurs. | Friday | Satrdy. | Mond. | Tuesd. |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 3 per Ct. Consols | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 90 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Consols for Ac- | | | | | | |
| count..... | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 90 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 3 per Cent. Red | 92 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 92 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 92 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| New 3 per Cent. | | | | | | |
| Annuities | 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 92 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 92 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| India Stock | 232 | 232 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 232 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 231 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — | 236 |
| Bank Stock | — | 217 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 218 | — | — | 218 |
| Exchequer Bills | 21 pm. | 18 pm. | 18 pm. | 19 pm. | 19 pm. | 21 pm. |
| India Bonds.... | 10 pm. | 7 pm. | — | 11 | 18 pm. | 11 pm. |
| Long Annuities | — | — | — | — | 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — |

The Gazette.

Friday, February 10th, 1854.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending on Saturday, the 11th day of February, 1854.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|---------------------|------------|
| Notes issued | 29,466,910 | Government Debt | 11,015,100 |
| | | Other Securities | 2,984,900 |
| | | Gold Coin & Bullion | 15,466,910 |
| | | Silver Bullion | — |
| | 29,466,910 | | 29,466,910 |

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Proprietors' Capital | 14,553,000 | Government Securities | — (including) |
| Reserve | 3,440,501 | Dead Weight Annuity | 11,941,666 |
| Public Deposits | 1,981,907 | Other Securities | 13,416,280 |
| Other Deposits | 19,857,045 | Notes | 7,358,240 |
| Seven Day and other Bills | 1,119,351 | Gold and Silver Coin | 786,618 |
| | 233,451,904 | | 233,451,904 |

M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

Dated the 16th day of February, 1854.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

JOHN EDWARD LOADER, builder, Mile-end, Middlesex.

BANKRUPT.

ALFRED S. B. Duke-street, Manchester-square, milliner, Feb. 20, and April 5, at 12, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Sol., Mr. Linklater, Sine-lane; off. assig., Nicholson, Basinghall-street.

EDMUND HILL, John otherwise Jonas, 33, Abchurch-lane, merchant, Feb. 22, at 11, and March 22, at half-past 11, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Sols., Messrs. Reynolds and Broomhead, 38, Old Broad-street; off. assig., Nicholson, 24, Basinghall-street.

BLACKLOCK, J. C. and ROBINSON, T., Birmingham, drapers, March 4 and April 1, at 10, at the Birmingham District Court. Sols., Messrs. Wills and Hodgson, Birmingham; off. assig., Mr. Bittleston.

GATELY, T., Derby, iron merchant, March 7, at 12, and March 20, at 11, at the Birmingham District Court. Sol., Mr. East, Birmingham; off. assig., Whitmore, Birmingham.

GAY, H. V., Blackfriars-road, tailor, March 1, at 2, and March 28, at 11, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Sol. Mr. Greville, Lombard-street; off. assig., Mr. Stanfield.

GREEN, E. B., Bilston, Stafford, ironmonger, March 7, at 12, at the Birmingham District Court. Sols., Messrs. Mottram and Knight, Birmingham; off. assig., Mr. Christie, Birmingham, and Mr. Smith, Wolverhampton.

KILLY, R., Ladbroke-terrace, commission agent, March 1, at 2, and April 19, at 1, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Sols., Messrs. Lawrence, Plews, and Boyer, Old Jewry-chambers; off. assig., Pennel, Guildhall-chambers.

PARFITT, B., Bermondsey, stone mason, March 3, and 31, at half-past 11, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Sol. Mr. Butler, Tooley-street; off. assig., Mr. Cannan, Aldermanbury.

RODWAY, J., Gloucester, victualler, Feb. 28 and March 28, at 12, at the Bristol District Court. Sol. Mr. Smalridge, Gloucester; off. assig., Mr. Acranan, Bristol.

WETHERED, H. E., Pimlico, linen draper, to surrender, March 3 and April 6, at 12, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Sols. Messrs. Dupree and Austen, Lawrence-lane, Cheap-side; off. assig., Mr. Johnson, Basinghall-street.

WHITMORE, H., Stockport, tailor, March 1, at 1, and April 19, at 12, at the Court of Bankruptcy. Sols., Messrs. Tilleard, Son, and Freeman, Old Jewry; off. assig., Mr. Pennel, Basinghall-street.

DECLARATIONS OF DIVIDENDS.

J. P. BATEMAN, Earls-court-terrace, Old Brompton, book-keeper—third div. of 3s. 7d. Feb. 20, and any subsequent Monday Mr. Cannan's, Aldermanbury.

G. BOWLES, Newgate-street, meat salesman—second div. of 9s. Feb. 23, and three subsequent Wednesdays, at Mr. Lee's Moorgate-street.

J. COLLINS, Middle-yard, Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, wheelwright—second div. of 1s. 2d. Feb. 20, and any subsequent Monday, at Mr. Cannan's, Aldermanbury.

C. D. CARY, Southampton, grocer—first div. of 5s. 5d., Feb. 23, and three subsequent Wednesdays, at Mr. Lee's Moorgate-street.

T. P. DIXON, Falmouth, Cornwall, printer—first and final div. of 2s. 5d. on any Tuesday or Friday, at Mr. Hernaman's Queen-street, Exeter.

E. C. FRYFE, and E. W. FRYFE, Horford-buildings, Fenchurch-street, and E. FRYFE, Calcutta, East Indies, merchants—second div. of 4d. Feb. 20, and any subsequent Monday, at Mr. Cannan's Aldermanbury.

J. JOHNSON, Wakefield, York, cabinet-maker—second div. of 8s. 2d. Feb. 20, on any subsequent Monday or Tuesday, at Mr. Hope's Commercial-buildings, Leeds.

J. KNIGHT, and J. KNIGHT, JUN., butchers—first div. of 11d., Feb. 23, and three subsequent Wednesdays, at Mr. Lee's Moorgate-street.

W. J. KERRIDGE, Deptford, chasemonger—first div. of 1s. 4d., Feb. 23, and three subsequent Wednesdays, at Mr. Lee's Moorgate-street.

J. READY, Holywell-street, Shoreditch, oilman—first div. of 3s. 6d., Feb. 20, and any subsequent Monday, at Mr. Cannan's, Aldermanbury.

P. STEWART, Craven-place, Old Kent-road, Camberwell, clerk—fourth div. of 6d., Feb. 20, and any subsequent Monday, at Mr. Cannan's Aldermanbury.

B. WYON, Regent-street, engraver—second div. of 7d. Feb. 23, and three subsequent Wednesdays, at Mr. Lee's Moorgate-street.

R. WILLSON, Cambridge, grocer—second div. of 5d. Feb. 23, and three subsequent Wednesdays, at Mr. Lee's, Moorgate-street.

INSOLVENT PETITIONERS.

P. THOMAS, Stanmore-place, Clarendon-street, Grove-street, Camden Town, historical and portrait engraver—H. E. WELLS, Rhodes-terrace, Queens-road, apothecary to a hospital—W. LAWRENCE, Frederick-street, Regent's-park, clerk to a builder—M. PRIEST, North-street, Wandsworth, Surrey, milkman—C. STATHAM, North-row, Oxford-street, letter-carrier.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

COOPER, J. Aberdeen, currier and leather merchant.

Tuesday February 21, 1854.

BANKRUPT.

Ramsay, D. A., Kensington-park-terrace, Notting-hill, builder, to surrender March 7 at 11, and April 13 at 1, at Basinghall-street. Sols., Messrs. Robinson and Haynes, Orchard-street, Portman-square; off. assig., Mr. Johnson, Basinghall-street.

CLERKE, C., Norwich, brewer, March 1 at 12, and April 12 at 1, at Basinghall-street. Sols., Messrs. Jay, Bucklersbury, and Jay and Pilgrim, Norwich; off. assig., Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers.

ROBINSON, F. S., Bloomsbury-square, dealer in patent medicines, March 1 at 11, and April 12 at 2, at Basinghall-street. Sols., Messrs. Lawrence and Co., Old Jewry-chambers; off. assig., Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers.

GREEN, E. B., Bilston, Staffordshire, ironmonger, March 7 and 30, at 12, at Birmingham Court. Sols., Mr. Smith, Wolverhampton, and Messrs. Mottram and Knight, Birmingham; off. assig., Mr. Christie, Birmingham.

RIZZI, A., Leeds, looking-glass manufacturer, March 6 and April 4, at 12, at Leeds Court. Sols., Mr. Fraser, Furnival's-inn, and Messrs. Bond and Barwick, Leeds; off. assig., Mr. Hope, Leeds.

ULLYETT, D., Sheffield, Yorkshire, draper, March 4 and 25, at the Leeds Court, held at Sheffield. Sols., Messrs. Sale and Co., Manchester, and Messrs. Richardson and Gaunt, Leeds; off. assig., Brewin, Sheffield.

MCGREGOR, D., Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Lancashire, travelling draper, March 9 and 30, at 12, at Manchester Court. Sol., Mr. Neild, Manchester; off. assig., Hernaman, Exeter.

EVANS, T., Manchester, ironmonger, March 8 April 3, at 12, at Manchester Court. Sols., Messrs. Higson and Robinson, Manchester; off. assig., Fraser, Manchester.

CARLTON, S., Darlington, Durham, coach and harness manufacturer, Feb. 27 at 12, and March 31 at 1, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne Court. Sols., Messrs. Hartley, Southampton-street, Bloomsbury, and Brignal, Durham; off. assig., Wakely, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

Feb. 15. SCAMMELL, S., Waterford-terrace, Fulham, shoemaker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

JAMES GRAHAM, Leitchton, solicitor, March 7, at Dowells and Lyon's Rooms, Edinburgh.

JOHN M'COWAN, Glasgow, cotton mill furnisher, Feb. 23, at the Globe Hotel, Glasgow.

Markets.

MARK-LANE, MONDAY, February 20, 1854.

We had but a moderate quantity of Wheat offering from the neighbouring Counties this morning, and there was more life in the Trade than for some time past, finest samples selling rather dearer than on Monday last; for foreign there was an increased Country demand at fully last Monday's prices. Flour met with more enquiry at previous rates. Barley reader sale, but without improvement in value. Beans and Peas dull at last Monday's quotations. We had a good supply of Irish Oats, but not many from other quarters; the sale was tolerably free to-day at fully last Monday's prices. Linseed Cakes went off pretty readily. Tares in good demand at our quotations. In Cloverseeds rather more doing, but prices without alteration. The Current prices as under.

| BRITISH. | | | | FOREIGN. | | | |
|------------------------------|-----|-----------|----|-----------------------------|----|----|----|
| Wheat— | s. | d. | s. | Wheat— | s. | d. | s. |
| Essex and Kent, Red | 70 | 8 1/2 | | Dantrig | 84 | 0 | 90 |
| Ditto White | 73 | 8 1/2 | | Konigsberg, Red | 80 | 86 | |
| Linc., Norfolk, & | | | | Pomeranian, Red | 84 | 86 | |
| Yorkshire Red | 74 | 84 | | Rostock | 84 | 88 | |
| Northumb. & Scotch | 74 | 84 | | Danish & Holstein | 76 | 86 | |
| Rye | 48 | 52 | | East Friesland | 72 | 74 | |
| Barley maling (new) | 40 | 42 | | Petersburg | 72 | 78 | |
| Distilling | 36 | 38 | | Riga and Archangel | 54 | 62 | |
| Malt (pale) | 60 | 70 | | Polish Odessa | 74 | 78 | |
| Beans, Maragan. | 38 | 40 | | Marianopol. | 73 | 78 | |
| Ticks | 40 | 42 | | Taganrog | 64 | 70 | |
| Harrow | 42 | 44 | | Egyptian | 60 | 62 | |
| Pigeon | 52 | 56 | | American (U.S.) | 80 | 88 | |
| Peas, White | 54 | 56 | | Barley Pomeranian | 34 | 36 | |
| Grey | 42 | 44 | | Konigsberg | 34 | 36 | |
| Maple | 46 | 48 | | Danish | 34 | 42 | |
| Boilers | 60 | 62 | | East Friesland | 32 | 34 | |
| Tares (English) | 60 | 70 | | Egyptian | 28 | 30 | |
| Foreign | 64 | 68 | | Odessa | 30 | 32 | |
| Oats (English feed) | 26 | 34 | | Beans— | | | |
| Flour, town made, per | | | | Horse | 38 | 40 | |
| Sack, of 280 lbs. | 57 | 70 | | Pigeon | 42 | 48 | |
| Linseed, English | 58 | 60 | | Egyptian | 46 | 48 | |
| Baltic | 56 | 58 | | Peas, White | 54 | 62 | |
| Black Sea | 58 | 60 | | Oats— | | | |
| Hempseed | 34 | 40 | | Dutch | 24 | 26 | |
| Canaryseed | 52 | 56 | | Jahde | 24 | 30 | |
| Cloverseed per cwt. of | | | | Danish | 24 | 27 | |
| 112lbs. English | 56 | 66 | | Danish yellow feed | 26 | 28 | |
| German | 52 | 80 | | Swedish | 26 | 30 | |
| French | 48 | 58 | | Petersburg | 28 | 30 | |
| American | 48 | 52 | | Flour, per bar. of 196 lbs. | | | |
| Linseed Cakes | 213 | 10 to 214 | | New York | 40 | 42 | |
| Rape Cake 26 to 26 10per ton | | | | Spanish per sack | 62 | 64 | |
| Rapeseed 226 to 230 per last | | | | Caraway Seed | 36 | 38 | |

BUTCHERS' MEAT, SMITHFIELD, MONDAY, February 20.

Owing to the strong gales of Saturday, several steamers laden with stock have not made their appearance; consequently the show of Foreign Beasts, Sheep, and Calves here to-day was limited. From our own grazing districts the receipts of Beasts fresh up this morning were very moderate, but in fair average condition. The attendance of buyers being good, the Beef trade ruled brisk, at an advance in the prices obtained on Monday last of 2d. per 8lbs., and a good clearance was effected. The primest Scots were worth 4s. 10d. per 8lbs. With Sheep we were seasonably well supplied. For all breeds the sale was heavy in the extreme, and the currencies gave way 2d. per 11bs. The primest old Downs sold at 5s. per 8lbs. Shorn Sheep went at about 8d. per 8lbs. below those in the wool. Very few Calves were on offer. The Veal trade ruled inactive, at last week's currency. The highest price was 5s. 4d. per 8lbs. Pigs were in moderate supply and sluggish request, on former terms.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal.)

| s. d. s. d. | | | | s. d. s. d. | | | |
|---|---|----|---|---------------------|---|----|----|
| Coarse and inferior | | | | Prime coarse wool- | | | |
| Beasts | 3 | 6 | 3 | led Sheep | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Second quality do. | 3 | 10 | 4 | Prime South Down | | | |
| Prime large Oxen | 4 | 2 | 4 | Sheep | 4 | 8 | 5 |
| Prime Scots, &c. | 4 | 8 | 4 | Large coarse Calves | 4 | 2 | 4 |
| Coarse and inferior | | | | Prime small do. | 4 | 10 | 5 |
| Sheep | 3 | 0 | 3 | Large Hogs | 3 | 0 | 4 |
| Second quality do. | 3 | 6 | 4 | Neat small Porkers | 4 | 4 | 10 |
| Suckling Calves, 23s. to 29s.; and quarter-old store Pigs, 21s. to 26s. each. | | | | | | | |

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL, Monday, February 20.—The supplies of both towns and country-killed meat on offer in to-day's markets were seasonably extensive. On the whole, a good business was transacted, on the following terms.—

Per 8lbs. by the carcass.

| s. d. s. d. | | | | s. d. s. d. | | | |
|-----------------|---|----|---|-----------------|---|---|---|
| Inferior Beef | 3 | 0 | 3 | Inferior Mutton | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Middling do. | 3 | 4 | 3 | Middling do. | 3 | 8 | 4 |
| Prime large do. | 3 | 10 | 4 | Prime do. | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Do. small do. | 4 | 0 | 4 | Veal | 4 | 0 | 5 |
| Large Pork | 3 | 4 | 4 | Small Pork | 4 | 4 | 5 |

BREAD. The prices of Wheat Bread in the Metropolis are from 11d. to 11 1/2d.; and Household do., 9d. to 10 1/2d. per 4lbs. loaf.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Monday, February 20.—No improvement occurred in our market last week. Irish Butter sold slowly, and to a very limited extent, at a decline in some instances of 2s. The finer kinds of foreign were 5s. to 4s. cheaper. No material change in other sorts. For Bacon the demand was inactive, and prices 2s. to 3s. lower. Hams a dull sale. Lard in moderate request, at a reduction of 1s. to 2s.

PRICES OF BUTTER, CHEESE, HAMS, &c.

| s. s. | | | | s. s. | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|--|-------------------------|----|----|--|
| Friesland per cwt. | 106 | 110 | | Cheshire (new) | 64 | 80 | |
| Kiel | 104 | 108 | | Cheddar | 66 | 80 | |
| Dorset (new) | 112 | 120 | | Double Gloucester | 64 | 72 | |
| Carlton do. | 98 | 102 | | Single do. | 64 | 70 | |
| Waterford do. | 94 | 100 | | York Hams (new) | 76 | 86 | |
| Cork do. | 98 | 104 | | Westmoreland do. | 72 | 82 | |
| Limerick do. | 86 | 96 | | Irish do. | 70 | 78 | |
| Sligo do. | 96 | 104 | | Whitehead Bacon (green) | 68 | 64 | |
| Fresh Butter per doz. | 15 | 18 | | Waterford Bacon | 60 | 61 | |

SEEDS, Monday, February 13.—The demand for Cloverseed, &c. for use, has now fairly commenced, and prices are now fully maintained for red Cloverseeds; white seed and Trefoil meet less attention, but are not noted lower. Spring Tares meet a good demand, and the larger varieties are again dearer. Sainfoin continues to command full rates. There has been a moderate business doing in Linseed to-day, at full prices. The quantity on passage is comparatively small. Most other Seeds are dull. Cakes command very full quotations.

POTATOES, BOSTON AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, Feb. 20.—

These markets are well supplied with Potatoes, chiefly per railway. Last week's imports were 210 tons from Rotterdam, 5 bags from Rostock, 2 tons from Waterford, 7 from Limerick, 14 from Dublin, and 150 from Belfast. A steady business is doing, as

follows:—Kent and Essex Regents, 130s to 140s.; Scotch do., 120s. to 130s.; do. cups, 100s. to 120s.; foreign, 110s. to 120s. per ton.

HOPS, Monday, February 20.—Somewhat more business has been doing in Hops of the best qualities, but at no improvement upon recent prices.

TALLOW, London, Monday, February 20.—Our market is very dull, and prices are about 1s. per cwt. lower than on Monday last. P.Y.C. on the spot, 62s. per cwt. For forward delivery very little is doing. Town Tallow 61s. net cash. Rough Fat 3s. 4 1/2d. per 8lbs.

| | 1850. | 1851. | 1852. | 1853. | 1854. |
|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Stock | 40,147 | 42,691 | 52,785 | 38,325 | 36,553 |
| Price of Y.C. | 36s. 6d. to 37s. 6d. | 37s. 6d. to 38s. 6d. | 38s. 3d. to 39s. 3d. | 45s. 0d. to 46s. 0d. | 62s. 0d. to 63s. 0d. |
| Delivery last week | 1,744 | 1,911 | 2,480 | 2,013 | 1,480 |
| Ditto from 1st June | 72,239 | 74,519 | 82,913 | 76,740 | 77,138 |
| Arrival last week | 156 | 1,111 | 1,003 | | 275 |
| Ditto from 1st June | 87,518 | 91,692 | 9,9164 | 74,447 | 90,775 |
| Price of Town | 38s. 6d. | 39s. 6d. | 38s. 6d. | 45s. 6d. | 63s. 3d. |

| HIDE AND SKIN—SATURDAY, February 18. | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|-------------------|
| Market Hides, 56 to 64 lbs | | 0 | 24 to 0 3 per lb. |
| Ditto 64 73 lbs | | 0 | 2 0 0 " |
| Ditto 73 80 lbs | | 0 | 2 0 0 " |
| Ditto 80 88 lbs | | 0 | 2 0 0 " |
| Ditto 88 96 lbs | | 0 | 2 0 0 " |
| Ditto 96 104 lbs | | 0 | 2 0 0 " |
| Horse Hides | | 6 | 0 0 0 each, |
| Calf Skins, light | | 2 | 0 0 0 " |
| Ditto full | | 5 | 6 0 0 " |
| Folled Sheep | | 8 | 0 10 0 " |
| Kents and Half-breds | | 7 | 0 8 6 " |
| Downs | | 5 | 4 6 4 " |

COVENT GARDEN, Saturday, February 18.—Vegetables continue to be well supplied, and Fruit is also sufficient for demand. Late Grapes are getting scarce. Peas consist of Glout Morcean, Beurre Rance, Winter Crassane, Easter Beurre, and Ne Plus Meuris. Among Dessert Apples there are still good samples of Ribston Pippin, Old Nonpareil. Chestnuts are plentiful, as are also Cucumbers. Sales for all second-rate kinds of Potatoes are heavy, and prices are lower; the best samples, however, maintain last week's quotations. Asparagus is coming in at from 8s. to 10s. per hundred, and Sealake at from 1s. to 2s. per punnet. Carrots and Turnips are cheaper. Some good Broccoli is coming in from Cornwall. Salad Vegetables from the Continent continue to make their appearance. Among them are Radishes, at 6d. to 8d. per bunch, and Cabbage Lettuces at 3d. to 4d. each. Mushrooms are scarce. Cut flowers consist of Camellias, Azaleas, Cyclamens, Heaths, Hyacinths, Tulips, and Roses.

COALS, Monday.—A very heavy market, at the rates of Friday's sale. Stewarts, 27s.; Hettons, 27s.; Rusa Grange, 26s.; Bell's, 25s.; Warrcliffe, 25s.; Tanfield, 24s. 6d.; Wylams, 24s. 6d.; Whitworth, 23s. 7 1/2d. fresh arrivals; left from last day, 400. Total, 478.

WOOL, City, Monday.—The imports of wool into London last week were 2,083 bales, of which 200 were from Germany, 672 from Port Phillip, 395 from Egypt, 367 from the Cape of Good Hope, 300 from Alexandria, 250 from Odessa, and the rest from Belgium, &c. The public sales are progressing favourably, and good support is given to prices. Although the amount of business doing in the British wool market since our last report has been by no means extensive, prices are well supported. When the present series of Colonial sales are over, no doubt we shall experience a revival in trade; but at present dealers' attention is chiefly directed to the sales in question.

| | s. d. | s. d. |
|--------------------|-------|-------|
| South Down Hoggets | 1 | 4 |
| Half-bred Ditto | 1 | 4 |
| Wool, clothing | 1 | 2 |
| Kent Fleeces | 1 | 2 1/2 |
| Combining Skins | 1 | 0 |
| Flannel Wool | 1 | 0 |
| Blanket Wool | 0 | 8 |
| Leicester Fleeces | 1 | 2 |

HAY, SMITHFIELD, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20.
Hay and Straw per load of 36 trusses.
Hay .. 23 15s. 0d. to 25 3s. 0d. | Clover .. 24 10s. 0d. to 26 0s. 0d.
Straw .. 11 12s. 0d. to 23 2s. 0d.

Advertisements.

THE LATE MR. WILLIAM GEORGE

POCOCK.—On Tuesday, the 2nd instant, a meeting of the friends of the late Mr. W. G. Pocock, was held at the British School Rooms, Kingsland, for the purpose of opening a subscription for a sum of money to be presented to his widow in testimony of the respect and esteem felt for her late husband, whose unwearied efforts to promote the comfort and elevation of the working classes and in the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty had deservedly gained him a high place in the affections of all who knew him.

It was proposed and resolved unanimously that the sum of £200 be raised to complete the purchase of two houses partly paid for by Mr. Pocock, through the medium of a Building Society, realising thereby an income of £40 per annum. That mode of applying the money being deemed very appropriate, inasmuch as one of the chief objects of his useful life had been the formation of such societies, in the successful working of which he was engaged up to the time of his death.

The following sums have been promised in support of the effort contemplated by the resolution.

| Working Men's Building Society | | Mr. Rainbow | |
|--------------------------------|--------|--------------|-------|
| G. W. Alexander, Esq. | 10 0 0 | James Bishop | 1 1 0 |
| Acton Since Ayrton, Esq. | 5 0 0 | J. Rogers | 1 1 0 |
| S. Morley, Esq. | 5 0 0 | H. Rogers | 1 1 0 |
| Henry Vincent, Esq. | 5 0 0 | R. Whincop | 1 1 0 |
| A Friend | 5 0 0 | C. Gilpin | 1 1 0 |
| Joseph Cooper, Esq. | 5 0 0 | E. Lowther | 1 1 0 |
| F. Homan, Esq. | 5 0 0 | Knights | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. B. Smith | 3 0 0 | Dennant | 1 1 0 |

JOHN WHITE'S SPECIAL MARGUAX

CLARET, 38s. per dozen-case; Burgundy, in prime condition, 48s. per dozen.—34, Dowgate-hill, Cannon-street.

JOHN WHITE'S SPARKLING CHAMPAGNE, 42s. per dozen, or £6 for a 3-dozen case.—34, Dowgate-hill, Cannon-street.

JOHN WHITE'S DINNER SHERRIES, from 26s.; Duff Gordon's Sherry, 36s.—34, Dowgate-hill, Cannon-street.

JOHN WHITE'S FINE OLD CRUSTED PORT, 36s. to 42s.: Unequalled, 48s. to 54s. Terms cash. All other wines of the best brands and choicest vintages, at equally moderate prices. If preferred, purchasers can be supplied at per gallon.—34, Dowgate-hill, Cannon-street.

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN CANADA.

Rev. S. R. WARD has engagements to Lecture and Preach as follows, when opportunities will be given to those who wish to contribute to the Fund for the Relief of Destitute Refugees from American Slavery.

TRINITY CHAPEL, POPLAR, Feb. 16, at 7 p.m.
CAMBERWELL GREEN CHAPEL, CAMBERWELL, Feb. 17, at 7 p.m.

SURREY CHAPEL, Feb. 19, at 6½ p.m.
WESTMINSTER, Feb. 22, at 7 p.m.

MIDDLETON ROAD CHAPEL, DALSTON, Feb. 27, at 7 p.m.
BETHNAL GREEN CHAPEL, March 8, at 7 p.m.

HANOVER CHAPEL, PECKHAM, March 12, at 11 a.m. and 6 p.m.

YORK STREET CHAPEL, WALWORTH ROAD, March 19, at 11 a.m. and 6 p.m.

ARNOLD'S CLOCK MANUFACTORY.

OFFICE, HALL, SHOP, and PUBLIC DIALS, THREE GUINEAS; to Strike, Half-a-Guinea extra. Only best Work. Constantly renewed stock of elegant Drawing-room Clocks, under glass shades, from 37s. 6d.

Orders received for the erection of Public, Church, or Turret Clocks, of any size or complication, in any part of the Kingdom.

PUBLIC NOTICE is invited to the character of the stock at the well-known Manufactory. The wholesale trade is now declined, to allow of undivided attention to the retail friends of the Establishment, who will henceforth be supplied at the trade prices, careful regard being observed in all transactions to the high and long maintained reputation of the house.

Best Work Only—Trade Prices—Delivered Free.

ARNOLD, WATCHMAKER,

9 and 60, RED LION STREET, HOLBORN, LONDON.

INFANT'S DENTITION.—MRS. JOHN-

SON'S AMERICAN SOOTHING SYRUP.—This efficacious Remedy has been in general use for upwards of Thirty Years, and has preserved numerous Children when suffering from Convulsions arising from Painful Detention. As soon as the Syrup is rubbed on the gums the child will be relieved, the gums cooled, and the inflammation reduced. It is as innocent as efficacious, tending to produce the Teeth with ease; and so pleasant that no child will refuse to let its gums be rubbed with it. Parents should be very particular to ask for Johnson's American Soothing Syrup, and to notice that the Names of BARCLAY and SONS, 95, FARRINGTON-STREET, LONDON (to whom Mrs. Johnson has sold the recipe), are on the stamp affixed to each bottle.—Price 2s. 9d. per bottle.

SIR WILLIAM BURNETT'S PATENTS.

IN the year 1838 Patents were granted to Sir William Burnett, M.D., F.R.S., Director-General of the Medical Department of the Royal Navy, for the use of Chloride of Zinc, as applied to the preservation of Timber, Canvas, Cordage, Cotton, Woolen, and other articles, from Rot, Mildew, Moth, &c.; and in 1852 her Majesty was pleased to grant an extension for seven years. Parties using Chloride of Zinc for any such purposes must purchase the same from the Proprietors of the Patents, at their Office, No. 18, Cannon-street, London-bridge; and any person using it without license will be proceeded against for infringement of their Patents.

N.B.—The Prize Medal of 1851 was awarded by the Royal Commissioners for Sir William Burnett's Patent.

SIR WILLIAM BURNETT'S DISINFECTING FLUID.

THE great and invariable success of Sir William Burnett's Patent Solution, in Preserving Timber, &c., from Rot, and in arresting the Decomposition of Animal and Vegetable Matters, soon led to its general application as an Antiseptic or Disinfecting Agent; and, for the last eight years, it has been in general use, with a success and public benefit truly marvellous, for the Disinfection of Sick Rooms, Clothing, Linen, &c.; the Prevention of Contagion; the Purification of Bilge-water and Ships' Holds, Cesspools, Drains, Water-closets, Stables, Dog-kennels, &c.

It is now only necessary to caution the public against an imitation which, for the last month or two, has been advertised as an "IMPROVED CHLORIDE OF ZINC," and even recommended by selections from Sir William Burnett's own Testimonials.

Sir William Burnett's Disinfecting Fluid is sold by all Chemists and Druggists, and at No. 18, Cannon-street, London-bridge.

RUPTURES.—BY ROYAL LETTERS

PATENT.—THE MOC-MAIN PATENT LEVER TRUSS, requiring no steel spring round the body, is recommended for the following peculiarities and advantages:—1st, Facility of application; 2nd, Perfect freedom from liability to chafe or excoriate; 3rd, It may be worn with equal comfort in any position of the body, by night or day; 4th, It admits of every kind of exercise without the slightest inconvenience to the wearer, and is perfectly concealed from observation.

"We do not hesitate to give to this invention our unqualified approbation, and we strenuously advise the use of it to all those who stand in need of that protection, which they cannot so fully, nor with the same comfort, obtain from any other apparatus or truss as from that which we have the highest satisfaction in thus recommending."—Church and State Gazette.

Recommended by the following eminent Surgeons:—William Fergusson, Esq., F.R.S., Professor of Surgery in King's College, Surgeon to King's College Hospital, &c.; C. G. Guthrie, Esq., Surgeon to the Royal Westminster Ophthalmic Hospital; W. Bowman, Esq., F.R.S., Assistant-Surgeon to King's College Hospital; T. Callaway, Esq., Senior Assistant-Surgeon to Guy's Hospital; W. Cusson, Esq., F.R.S., Surgeon to the Magdalen Hospital; T. Blizard Curling, Esq., F.R.S., Surgeon to the London Hospital; W. J. Fisher, Esq., Surgeon-in-chief to the Metropolitan Police Force; Aston Key, Esq., Surgeon to Prince Albert; Robert Liston, Esq., F.R.S.; James Luke, Esq., Surgeon to the London Truss Society; Erasmus Wilson, Esq., F.R.S.; and many others.

A Descriptive Circular may be had by post, and the Truss (which cannot fall to fit) can be forwarded by post, on sending the circumference of the body two inches below the hips, to the Manufacturer.

Mr. WHITE, 228, PICCADILLY, LONDON.

Price of a Single Truss, 16s., 21s., 26s. 6d., and 31s. 6d. Postage, 1s.

Price of a Double Truss, 31s. 6d., 42s., and 52s. 6d. Postage, 1s. 6d.

Post-office Orders to be made payable to John White, Post-office Piccadilly.

ELASTIC STOCKINGS, KNEECAPS, &c.

which these are made is recommended by the most eminent Surgeons, as being particularly elastic and compressible, and the most efficient and permanent support in all cases of swelling of the LEGS, VARICOSE VEINS, &c. This porous, light in texture, and inextensible ordinary stocking. Price from 6d.

Mr. WHITE, 228, PICCADILLY, LONDON.

**PRIZE MEDAL.****WATHERSTON AND BROGDEN'S GOLD CHAINS,**

BY TROY WEIGHT, AT REALIZABLE VALUE AND THE WORKMANSHIP, AT WHOLESALE MANUFACTURERS' PRICES.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION having established the advantage of Purchasing from the Wholesale Manufacturer, wherever it can be accomplished, and thereby dispensing with an intermediate profit, WATHERSTON and BROGDEN beg to announce, that in obedience to the numerous calls made upon them, they have thrown open their Manufactory to the Public, at the same prices they have been in the habit (for the last half century, of charging to the Trade in London, India, and the Colonies. The system of Weighing Chains against Sovereigns being one of the greatest Frauds ever practised on the Public, WATHERSTON and BROGDEN guarantee the Gold in their Chains, and will re-purchase it at the price charged: the Workmanship according to the intricacy or simplicity of the pattern.

EXAMPLE.—Intrinsic value of a chain of 15-carat Gold, weighing 1½ ounces £3 9 7
Supposing the Workmanship to be 2 0 0

Total £5 9 7

By this arrangement, the purchaser will see at a glance the proportion charged for labour compared with the bullion in a Gold Chain, and being always able to realize the one, will have only to decide on the value of the other.

An extensive assortment of Jewellery, of the first quality, all made at their Manufactory,

16, HENRIETTA-STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON.

ESTABLISHED A.D. 1789.

N.B.—Australian and Californian Gold made into articles of Jewellery at a moderate charge for the workmanship.

TEAS AND COFFEES AT MERCHANT'S PRICES.

Families, Schools, and Large Establishments generally, will find great advantages in purchasing Teas, Coffees, and Colonial Produce, of

PHILLIPS AND COMPANY,

TEA MERCHANTS,

8, KING WILLIAM STREET, CITY, LONDON.

Strong CONGOU TEA, at 3s., 3s. 2d., and 3s. 4d. per lb.

Prime SOUCHONG TEA, at 3s. 6d. and 3s. 8d.

The best LAPSANG SOUCHONG TEA, at 4s.

Bets ASSAM PEKOE SOUCHONG TEA, 4s. 4d., of Extraordinary Quality and Strength.

Prime GUNPOWDER TEA, at 4s. and 4s. 8d.

Delicious GUNPOWDER, at 5s.

The best Pearl GUNPOWDER, at 5s. 4d.

Prime COFFEE at 1s. and 1s. 2d. per lb. The best Mocha and the best West Indian Coffee, at 1s. 4d. Teas, Coffees, Spices, and all other goods, sent carriage free, by our own vans and carts, if within eight miles; and TEAS, COFFEES and SPICES, sent carriage free to all parts of England, if to the value of 40s., or upwards, by

PHILLIPS AND COMPANY,

TEA AND COLONIAL MERCHANTS,

No. 8, KING WILLIAM-STREET, CITY, LONDON.

A General Price Current, containing great advantages in the purchase of TEA, COFFEE, and COLONIAL PRODUCE, sent post free on application. Sugars are supplied at moderate prices.

WEDDING, BIRTHDAY, OR NEW YEAR'S PRESENT.

With numerous Engravings, price £1. 6s. cloth gilt,

A GUIDE TO FAMILY DEVOTION.

BY THE REV. ALEXANDER FLETCHER, D.D.

Containing 730 Complete Services, each including a Hymn, a Prayer, a Portion of Scripture, and appropriate Reflections, being one for the Morning and Evening of every day in the Year.

Selections from Testimonials of Christian Ministers in favour of the Rev. A. FLETCHER'S "GUIDE TO FAMILY DEVOTION."

I have great pleasure in bearing testimony to the worth of "Fletcher's Family Devotion." It is admirably adapted to accomplish the sacred purpose for which it is intended. The genial warmth of true spirituality pervades it throughout; and it may safely be recommended, both for the judgment and piety by which it is characterized, to earnest-minded Christians of every denomination. Great as its circulation already is, I should be glad to find it increased, and increasing.

Yours very faithfully,

Henry Hobbes

Parsonage, St. James's, Hampstead-road.

Extract from a letter by the Rev. J. HARRIS, D.D., Author of "Mammon."

The conception and arrangement of the work are admirable; and as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, the execution of it equals the plan. I have read various parts of it attentively; and while I have not met with anything which I could wish to have been omitted, most unfeignedly can I say that I have found much calculated to inspire and sustain devotion.

J. M. Harris

Epsom.

I am enabled to speak with propriety and confidence of the real worth and admirable adaptation to usefulness of your work. I have used it much in my own family, and I can truly say that as I advance it grows in my esteem. You have rendered a most important service to Christian households by your labours, and I have no doubt that its circulation will be as extensive as your most sanguine expectations could anticipate.

J. R. Apple

Leamington.

Letters have also been received from the following Clergymen:—Rev. W. B. COLLIER, D.D., Peckham; Rev. J. Monahan, D.D., Chelsea; Rev. JAMES PARSONS, York; Rev. SAMUEL RAMSON, Hackney; Rev. A. THOMSON, Coldstream; &c. In addition to which, upwards of One Hundred of the most influential Clergymen of America have testified, by letter, their high commendation of the excellence and great utility of the above-named Work.

VIRTUE & CO., LONDON AND NEW YORK.

A superficial survey of it ["A Guide to Family Devotion"] is sufficient to manifest that its plan is the most complete of any with which I am acquainted, embracing everything which the service of the family altar requires, or admits of; while its execution is also such as to entitle it to commendation, and secure for it the circulation and use which it deserves. Birmingham.

I consider it a vast advantage to persons who begin house-keeping, if unaccustomed to extemporaneous prayer, to have such a help to devotion as your work affords. Many, especially females, have felt considerable difficulty in conducting family worship, for want of a selection of Scriptures adapted to family reading; this difficulty your work meets, and cannot but be appreciated by a large class of the Christian community. The work appears to me to be executed devotionally, which, in my opinion, is a strong recommendation to its excellence. With many sincere wishes for its success,

Surrey Chapel House. *J. Sherman*

On examination, I am much pleased with it ["A Guide to Family Devotion,"] and feel, when I am called to leave my family, that I leave for its use a good substitute behind me. Weigh House.

The evangelical strain of the prayers gives them an advantage over most other forms which have been published for families: I mean not only the savour of evangelical feeling and motive with which they are imbued, but the frequent addresses which are intermingled to each Divine Person of the Triune Jehovah. I trust that your labours will lead many families to a practical use and enjoyment of the glorious privileges of the Gospel.

Isaac Pratt
Late Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman-street.

I feel it right to express my opinion that the plan is excellent, and that the execution of the plan is judicious, and well adapted to its purpose, as an aid to the great duty and blessing of family, conjugal, and secret worship. Hemerton.

W. Smith

HOUSEHOLDERS' AND GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.—Money received on Deposits at 5 per cent. interest, payable half-yearly in April and October.
RICHARD HODSON, Secretary.
15 and 16, Adam-street, Adelphi, London.

SCOTTISH EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.
Incorporated by Royal Charter, and Special Act of Parliament.
Head Office—EDINBURGH; 26, St. Andrew-square.
Manager—Robert Christie, Esq.
LONDON: 126, Bishopsgate-street, Cornhill.
GLASGOW: 103, St. Vincent-street.

The SCOTTISH EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY is an institution peculiarly adapted to afford Provision for Families. It was established in the year 1831, upon the principle of MUTUAL CONTRIBUTION, the Surplus or Profit being wholly divisible among the members; and the Additions which have been made to Policies at the periodical investigations of the Society afford satisfactory evidence of the prosperity of the Institution, and the great advantages derived by its members. The following Examples exhibit the additions already made:—

A Policy for £1,000, opened in 1832, is now increased to £1,508 9s 4d
" 1,000, " 1836, " 1,407 18 7
" 1,000, " 1840, " 1,297 15 7
The Profits are ascertained and divided Triennially amongst Policies of more than five years' duration.
The Annual Revenue is upwards of £140,000.
The Amount of Assurances in force is upwards of £4,000,000 sterling.

The Amount paid to the Representatives of Deceased Members exceeds £500,000 sterling.

The Total Amount of Vested Additions allocated to Policies exceeds £600,000.

The Accumulated Fund is upwards of £760,000.

Loans granted to Members to the extent of the Office value of their Policies.

Copies of the Annual Report, Forms of Proposal, and all information, may be had on application at any of the Society's Offices, in town or country.

ROBERT CHRISTIE, Manager,
WILLIAM FINLAY, Secretary.
W. COOK, Agent,
126, Bishopsgate-street, London

December, 1853.

THE ACHILLES INSURANCE COMPANY.
CAPITAL, £100,000, in 10,000 Shares of £10 each.
With power to increase to One Million.

DIRECTORS.
Sir Henry Winston Barron, Bart., Chairman.
Col. Lothian S. Dickson, Deputy Chairman.

Adolphus Baker, Esq.
David Birrell, Esq.
T. Houghton Burrell, Esq.
William Court, Esq.
Captain J. Bishop Culpeper.
Henry Francis Home, Esq.

Sir Charles Sharp Kirkpatrick, Bart.
Edward Miall, Esq., M.P.
Charles Stocken, Esq.
W. Stoughton Vardy, Esq.
James Toleman, Esq.

The advantages offered by this Company will be seen on an investigation of its Rates of Premium and the terms of its Loan business. It offers to the assured the security of a large subscribed capital, combined with all the advantages of a Mutual Assurance Office, eighty per cent. of the profits being divided amongst the Policy-holders every five years. The following are other characteristic features of the Company.

THE RATES OF PREMIUM are based upon the latest and most approved corrected tables of mortality, and will, therefore, be found lower than those adopted by other and earlier institutions.

NO CHARGE is made for POLICY STAMPS or MEDICAL FEES.

The Assured are ALLOWED to TRAVEL in any country in Europe without extra charge.

ONE-THIRD of the Premiums on Policies of £500 and upwards is allowed to remain unpaid, and continue as a claim on the Policy.

POLICIES ARE NOT FORFEITED if the Premiums are not paid when due.

LOANS are granted to Policy-holders and others on approved Personal Security, and on every description of Freehold, Leasehold, and Copyhold Property. The advances are made on liberal terms and a Policy of Insurance on the borrower's life to the amount only of the sum borrowed is required.

For the convenience of the WORKING CLASSES, Policies are issued as low as £20, at the same rates of Premium as larger Policies.

Premiums may be paid quarterly, half-yearly, or annually.

The following are the Rates of Premium on the classes of Policies generally taken out:—

WHOLE OF LIFE.
Annual Premium for the Assurance of £100 on the Whole of Life with Profit.

Age 20 30 40 50 60

Premium £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d.

1 18 3 2 7 9 3 3 2 4 10 2 6 18 5

Any other Particulars, or Rates of Premium, required for any contingency, can be obtained of the Agents of the Company, or at the Chief Office.

HUGH BROWN TAPLIN, Secretary.

Chief Office, 25, Cannon-street, London.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN ASSURANCE SOCIETY. No. 19, Moorgate-street, City, London.

BRANCH OFFICES:
Birmingham—8, Newhall-street.
Bristol—Albion Chambers.
Liverpool—84, Lord-street.
Manchester—65, King-street.
Newcastle-on-Tyne—1, Dean-street.
Hamburg—7, Alter Wandrahm.

Extract from the Directors' Report for the Year ending December 31, 1853, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society, held February 8, 1854:—

Number of Life Proposals made to the Society from the 1st of January to the 31st December, 1853, were 1550, for the Assurance of £287,985. These Proposals have been distributed as follows, viz:—

1011 Policies issued for the Assurance of £189,495
406 Proposals declined or not taken up 75,434
78 Proposals accepted and to be completed 13,946
55 Proposals under consideration 9,200

1550 £287,985

Reference to the last year's Report will show that the income derivable from the business of the Society was £4,187, 3s. 10d., while the present income from the Life Department alone is £10,999 10s. 8d., exhibiting an increase of £6,782 6s. 10d.; and this, if added to the premiums for proposals accepted but not completed at the end of the year (most of which have since been carried out), amounting to £560 6s. 5d., and the premiums derived from Fire Insurance of £725 3s. 8d., will give an aggregate income of £12,255 9s. 9d. The above, it must be borne in mind, is the net income, after deducting the amount for those Policies which have lapsed by the non-payment of premiums.

The following claims have been made and paid on the Policies of the Society during the year:—

In the Guarantee department £149 14 4
In the Life department 860 0 0
In the Fire department 289 6 1

Prospectuses, Forms of Proposal, and every information, may be obtained from

JESSE HOBSON, Secretary,
19, Moorgate-street, City.

BANKS OF DEPOSIT AND SAVINGS BANKS.
INVESTMENT OF CAPITAL.
NATIONAL ASSURANCE AND INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—Persons desirous of Investing Money, are requested to examine the Plan of this Association, by which a high rate of Interest may be obtained, combined with perfect security. Prospectuses and full information may be had at the Office, or sent, post free, on application.
PETER MORRISON, Managing Director.
7, St. Martin's-place, Trafalgar-square, London.

NATIONAL FREEHOLD-LAND SOCIETY.
14, Moorgate-street, London.

REPORT OF VALID SHARES DRAWN DURING THE WEEK.

32,591, 26,457, 14,363, 9,106, 65,031, 64,975—6,* 61,522, 63,086, 47,688, 48,169, 34,575, 52,282—84,* 42,262, 68,280—83,* 43,097, 69,439, 69,870, 63,442, 55,961, 40,137, 45,945, 71,446, 55,589, 39,370, 59,258, 71,189, 72,657—61,* 9,623, 60,369, 53,556 1,390, 52,181, 6,615, 27,694, 73,303, 66,048, 30,932, 58,407, 75,903, 1,189, 61,667, 72,091, 14,681, 24,087, 66,36—90,* 50,713, 54,506, 10,568, 74,611, 74,123, 37,348, 49,285, 65,053.
* Grouped.

The shares numbered, 47,784, 18,192, 53,043, 21,745, 13,188, 28,705, 30,979, 64,704, 35,124, 16,150, 28,822, 33,018, 37,127, 9,658, 10,740, 49,131, 29,218, 28,246, were also drawn; but as the subscriptions thereon were in arrears, the holders thereof have lost the benefit of this drawing. Copies of the Prospectus, Rules, and last Annual Report, may be obtained at the office, or by post, gratis.

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RECOMMENCEMENT OF COWARD'S WEEKLY LECTURE.

COWARD'S FRIDAY MORNING LECTURE will be recommenced, at the Weigh-House Chapel, Fish-street-hill, on Friday morning, March 3rd, at 12 o'clock.

The ministers who have accepted the appointment to preach the lecture, are the Rev. J. Harrison, the Rev. H. Allen, the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, B.A., and the Rev. W. Kirkus, L.L.B. They will each take two consecutive lectures in turn. The first two lectures, Friday, March 3rd, and Friday, March 10th, will be delivered by the Rev. J. BALDWIN BROWN; the next two, by the Rev. H. ALLEN.

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London: William Freeman, 69, Fleet-street.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XVI.—NEW SERIES, No. 434.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1854.

[GRATIS.]

Reviews.

Letters of Lady Rachel Russell. 2 vols. London: Longman & Co.

To whom are not the Letters of the saintly Lady Rachel Russell—the best wife and noblest woman on record—familiarily known? Who ever read them without being purified and nerved for duty and trial? And how great is the loss of those, and of the woman especially, who never felt the elevating and gentle disciplinary influences these simple and beautiful compositions afford. We know not that anywhere else so refining and quickening a study can be had, of a wife and husband united, not only in hand and heart, but in principles, in intellect, in views, and in dispositions:—each pursuing one common and noble end, their own improvement, and the happiness of those around them:—mutually correcting, sustaining, and strengthening each other, undegraded by all practices of tyranny on the one part, and of deceit on the other: secure of a refuge from the vexations, the follies, the misunderstandings, and the evils of the world, in the arms of each other, and in the inestimable enjoyments of unlimited confidence and unrestrained intimacy.

Deficient as are these Letters in all the qualities of productions prepared for the public, or indirectly meant for the eyes of others than the friendly and loving correspondents to whom they are addressed,—marked by homeliness and familiarity, rather than by brilliancy or talent,—and often wanting correction of the style, and even of the grammar,—they are yet pure and perfect revelations of a cheerful and pious spirit, of wifely tenderness, of motherly love and wisdom, and of a character prepared by true religion "to enjoy the sunshine, or to meet the storms of life." But it cannot be necessary to describe them, or to dwell on their merits and beauties.

In a preface to this new edition, bearing the initials "J. R."—we presume those of Lord John Russell—it is remarked that the "Letters," as originally published, "contain but one topic and one resource—that topic the judicial murder of her husband—that resource the strength of a soul sustained by all the fortitude of a heroine, and chastened by all the piety of a saint." In this edition, however, are contained, "besides the letters of that melancholy period, those of a time of wedded joy, few in number, indeed, but valuable, as showing how deep was that happiness which the tyranny of a voluptuous king broke into and destroyed." Of the early letters here referred to, and stated to be printed for the first time, we remember several as having appeared in a little biography of Lady Russell, by Mrs. Child, the American authoress; and we believe the source from which they were obtained, to be the Memoir of Lady Russell, by Miss Berry: from whose pages numerous letters are extracted, and now included for the first time in this, a fully complete edition of the "Letters." The same remark may be made respecting an exquisite letter from Lady Russell to her son, in 1706; and of the letter to the King, in 1683; both marked in these volumes as new, but similarly made known to the public before. There are, however, several letters belonging to the period when Lady Vaughan was but newly the wife of Mr. Russell, which have never been previously printed; of which we select parts of two for extract:—

"August 15, 1675.

"Though I did wish my best life would not give himself the trouble of writing to me so soon, yet I desire he will believe that there is no earthly thing can please me so well as what he says to me; so that when I cannot hear him speak, his letters are my best delight; though I am with our little girl, who is (I bless God) very well, and extremely merry, and often calls papa. She gets new tricks every day. . . . I write by the carrier, because that post is so naughty, and it is the same thing, for this goes but to-morrow morning, and if anything happens you should hear, I will write again on Monday night, or Tuesday morning, otherwise not. . . . I am going to see Miss end her supper, and then undress, at which time she is very pleasant; and it is my best entertainment till I see again my Mr. Russell, whose I am entirely."

"1675.

"Persuading myself to believe you were not willing to

dispense with not hearing to day from your little girl and I, I think myself obliged to tell you we are both as you left us. I have just left her (to tell her dear papa so) in as good humour as she used to be when her breakfast is before her; but while it was a getting ready very impatient; nothing would do without the help of a piece of bread and butter. I have yet passed my time well enough since we parted; all I have done seeming to be in order to our meeting soon again. . . . This day is the most glorious one that is to be imagined; the sun is so hot as I write, it supplies the want of sand as well as fire could do. The pears are not gathered till to-morrow morning. I do long to hear of my best life, but not so much as I shall do ten days hence, whether I am at Stratton, or nearer to you.—Watkins calls for my letter, yet I must tell you that I hate myself for forgetting your girls, and am more and more convinced how little I deserve the blessing I enjoy, but will ever be thankful to my God and yourself, whose I am entirely.

"Sunday morning, "R. VAUGHAN.

"For William Russell, at Southampton House, London."

We find here another letter, belonging to a sadder period of Lady Russell's life, now first printed from the original MS. in the possession of Mr. Dawson Turner, and addressed to "Mr. Griffith," who is conjectured by the editor to have been the Rev. John Griffith, M.A., Chaplain to the Duke of Devonshire:—

"WOBBURN ABBEY, Feb. 4, 1684.

"Sir,—In my perplexed state, those momentary refreshments, if my afflicted soul finds any, are when I am able to apply such healing considerations as good and charitable men like yourself offer to my wounded spirit. I cannot receive so valuable a gift, and not tell you, sir, myself, that I take it thankfully, and will do my endeavour to use it profitably; but, alas! so inveterate is my disease, it seems to me above the cure of arguments; nothing but the mighty grace of God can assuage such grief as mine. I have loved man too well, and did not weigh enough how short my interest might be in that loved object of my desires; had God had full possession of my soul, or had I prized his love, adored his wisdom, and believed his goodness in all the secret conducts of his providences, (yea, although I groaned under the sharpest dispensations of it), I should not be cast down; but passion rebels, and I cannot with that constancy and frame of spirit I desire, follow his steps in that thorny path of suffering he trod before me with so much ease; this calls forth the sharpest accents of my lamentations, but I still bestow them on the loss of earthly enjoyments; our grosser part lying nearer to their more suitable objects in the mixed state of this world; sense soon prevails, and by perpetual sharp and quick remembrances, brings to my mind how full of content my mind lately was, and that I must never here know more: it is a bitter reflective, and can only be allayed by seriously fixing upon that consideration you have lighted on to offer me, that whatever he did in his place, he did it faithfully as unto God, and upon that belief may safely ground a hope he was lifted from a prison to a throne; then I know it is very unreasonable to take so heavily, that what was so precious to me, his gain, should be a matter of so grievous and lasting a weight of sorrow to me; but I must hope this is my infirmity, and that our High Priest, who was touched with ours, will give me (who with my soul desires with my groans to mingle justification of my God) suffering grace for a suffering condition, making his rod medicinal to me. . . ."

The pathos, piety, and truthful thinking of this epistle, are both touching and edifying. But a yet more remarkable letter, composed by Lady Russell for the benefit of her children, and dated on the anniversary of her husband's execution, was discovered amongst some papers of the Marquis of Rockingham, in 1850, and presented to the Duke of Bedford. We wish we could give it entire, but it is far too long: we must, however, quote a few of its most interesting passages. The editor has preserved the orthography of the original, but we have thought it better to modernise it:—

"I write this upon the 21st July, 91—a day of sad remembrance to me, it being that whereon your excellent father was taken from us, with much severity, to my lasting sorrow and your loss. I have not yet omitted on this day (but when prevented by sickness) to humble and afflict myself under the mighty hand of God, pouring out my soul before him in prayer and fasting. . . .

"After my time spent thus, and reading two sermons that the then Dr. Burnet preached before your father the day before he died, and also those sheets of paper that he wrote for me, what had happened in discourse between them, you will sure my child believe that all I say proceeds from a heart and mind put into as good a frame and temper as I can bring them to; and consequently as free from all undue passions and partiality, full of good will to all mankind and especially to all good souls, having truly endeavoured to set all right between God and my own soul; and believe me, the doing so faithfully, affords a tranquillity and quiet within, that is not to be expressed. And yet I must own that the reading of Dr. Burnet's papers, as they must bring fresh before my eyes such sad scenes as is my own particular condition upon earth, so I can't say I am without sorrowful thoughts, but not mercenary ones I hope. I pray that they may not be such, and indeed it is a mighty help to me that they should not be so, the reasonable ground I have to hope your dear father is happy in a better

state—that possibly his violent death might be the punishment for the errors of his life, and he is now comforted and joyful to all eternity, past all the toils, and temptations, and snares, and labours of this short life; which is our day of exercise, probation, and trial for that to come.

"And now, my child, believe your mother, there is nothing now in this world can touch me very sorely but my children's concerns (bating religion), and although I love your bodies but too well, yet if my heart deceive me not, it is as nothing in comparison of your more precious souls. When I have the least jealousy, that any of you have ill inclinations, or not so good as I would gladly have them; or fear that you tread though never so little out of the right path; O, how it pierces my soul in fear and anguish for yours! If you love or bear any respect for the memory of your father, do not endanger a separation from him and me in the next life. But infinitely above all other argument is this; that we should not be ungrateful to that God that made us and preserves us; made us to be born into this world that we might be capable of a life to all eternity, where innocence and happiness last for ever. To this place of joy and bliss, this is our passage, and is to some a more rugged than it is to others; for wise ends, hid by providence from us now; but when we shall have put off these tabernacles of clay, our clarified spirits shall then understand and admire, adore and love, the wisdom and power, and love of God to his creatures, how lovely will the beauty of providence be to us then? though now that we see but the dark side of the cloud, 'tis often very black and gloomy to us."

"My business is to profit by this sore affliction, to seek for patience rather than comfort, and to learn to wean myself from loving so passionately any blessing in this world. . . . And I can safely say, I have dismissed all the esteemed delights of it, since that stroke; nay, I may add, all the innocent pleasures of life I lost with him: but I take that to be a fault, and perhaps is a punishment to me for loving a creature too much—'tis a sort of idolatry; but still I feel my soul to be too sorely touched when any of you, my children, are ill,—I pray and strive all I can against it."

What a beautiful picture is this, of devotion to Heaven, of sweet and holy mildness of soul, of faithfulness to the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and of maternal love and dutifulness in the purest forms!

We might make many extracts of a wholly different character and value, containing glimpses of persons and manners in Lady Russell's time; but have no space for them. There is great historical interest in such matters; but these volumes have their chief attraction and rarest worth, as containing the story of a woman's—and such a woman's—heart and life. We should think them nowhere so truly in their own place, as on the table of the private chamber of daughters, wives, and mothers.

The Notes to these volumes are numerous and valuable. Those of Miss Berry, who first edited the Letters preserved at Devonshire House, are retained; and others, biographical and explanatory, are added by Mr. Martin, the librarian at Woburn Abbey. There are, also, choice portraits of Lord William Russell and Lady Rachel—from original and contemporary miniatures; a *fac simile* of the hand-writing of the latter; and vignettes of Woburn and Bedford House.

History of the Constituent Assembly. (1789.) By ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE. Vol. I. London: Vizetelly and Co.

It was in 1815, that Sir James Mackintosh said: "To appreciate the effects of the French Revolution is an undertaking for which no man now alive has sufficient materials, or sufficient impartiality, even if he had sufficient ability." Since then, the materials have accumulated largely enough, and have been sifted and sorted by various hands. It is more difficult to be satisfied with the ability, or with the impartiality with which this has been done. There are histories, descriptive and philosophical, and more or less complete, in which many and various aspects of the Revolution are exhibited, and its deep and continuing interest, nationally, politically, and romantically, is made apparent. But we are inclined to adopt a modification of Mackintosh's words, and say: No man has yet lived, or written, with sufficient impartiality, or sufficient ability, for this undertaking. We might even extend the assertion beyond the appreciation of the effects in France and Europe, and inquire: Where is the history which, without a distinct social or political bias, represents clearly the remarkable combination of causes which produced the French Revolution; gives language to its confused mean-

ing; and seizes the spirit, and marks the influence on the progress of the movement of the successive events which it relates?

Certainly, Lamartine is not the author of such a work—is incapable of becoming the author of any such. Ability he indisputably has; but it is that of a literary painter—not of a poet, as some say—and not of a philosophical historian. Impartiality, also, of a certain sort, he has; but it is that of a generous nature, and not of the “spirit of discernment,” which he himself recognises as necessary to the cool judgment of history and the restoration of intelligence to the principles which historic facts embodied. Scarcely is there a more eloquent writer living than Lamartine; scarcely ever has any man had more genius for “the association of the human heart with the scenes he traces.” One reads him with admiration, delight, and full-hearted interest—just as one reads a good novel—just so, and nohow else. Lamartine is too intent on his portraits, or his highly-finished single pictures of particular events; and is too ready with the colours of his imagination, and with interpretations furnished by his own feelings; and a reader who reads for anything more than amusement, sees that it is so, and even if he has no other knowledge, refuses his confidence, or, at least, remains half-satisfied and hesitating in judgment. One feels to want to see for oneself a simple impression from the bare engraving, which men and events made on the world's tablets, and not always to have copies in full-tint, and phantasmagoria dissolving-views, and nothing else but these.

It is a great merit in Lamartine, that he gives prominence to personal histories—to the characters and lives of the men who made the Revolution. It is the best contribution to the study of the period, and to the comprehension of that which was inward to the revolutionary movement, thus to make us acquainted with the minds and deeds of its creators and creatures—for it can scarcely be said to have had leaders or guides. In this direction, all that Lamartine has done is valuable; but the misfortune is, that he indicates no sources or authorities (save quite exceptionally), and so leaves us doubtful how much is biography and how much romance. In the present volume, all the personal sketches are artistically admirable—distinct, individual, vivid portraits. Nor must we forget, even while speaking thus generally, how much that is really of great value, Lamartine has here brought to the illustration of the life of Mirabeau—and which is gathered from original sources in the shape of family papers. But we are not able to discover any other traces of original research or novel information in this volume of the work; and, however interestingly Lamartine's glowing page may tell the story of the commencement of the Revolution, we presume we owe the writing of it rather to the author's needs, and to his desire of completing a whole, of which the “Girondists” and the “Restoration” are parts, than to the consciousness of having new facts or judgments to put forward, or of being called to the resuscitation of the truths of the Revolution, or of having clearer lights to cast on its relations to political philosophy and progress.

M. Lamartine starts with an attempt “to describe the origin of the Revolution in two words”—and the very attempt is enough to sicken one, as a piece of that desperate French smartness and cleverness which spoils their everything in literature and science, except their mathematics. These “two words,” which are to describe “the origin of the French Revolution” are—“the Press.” Yes, “the French Revolution came into existence on the same day with the discovery of printing!” So says M. Lamartine. It is equally true of a thousand things beside the French Revolution, that but for the new powers in civilization and society introduced by the Press, they had never existed. But, if it be enough to find such a general and remote cause for the event, it would have been as true and significant to take one more general and radical still—as, the Divine Law of Progress in the development of humanity—or the entrance of Christianity into European Civilization—or the invention of *Thinking*—or the Depravity of Man! Either is true enough for the purpose.

This volume commences its narrative with the Convocation of the States-General, and closes with the taking of the Bastille—thus including only the few weeks from the 5th of May to the 14th of July, 1789. The two events we have named are pictured with great power and brilliancy; and the strange story of The Diamond Necklace is told, with some variations, in the best way possible. But we shall illustrate the book to our readers by a gallery of its portraits; with which, too, it will be best commended to them.

First, we select the youthful King—

LOUIS XVI.

“Louis XVI., though at that period still very young, had none of the graces of youth, of chivalry, of his rank, or of the beauty of his race. A precocious corpulence imparted a heaviness to his gait; a sickly timidity embarrassed his attitude; a sort of perpetual lameness, by throwing the weight of his bust sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left, deprived his stature of all manliness and majesty; his figure was short and thick; his sword was an incumbrance instead

of a decoration; his military dress—the uniform of the first princes of his race—became him badly; his large blue eyes dazzled and vacillating, could fix upon nothing with a firm regard; he was the perfect image of a man brought up in the shade, who had always a rampart of courtiers between him and the crowd; his forehead was low and receding, his nose heavy and inclined to one side, his mouth relaxed and tame, his cheeks too round and devoid of muscle, the expression of his countenance insignificant and more rustic than royal, his motions sudden and unharmonious, indicated a mind that imparted action to his body with pain and effort. The whole of his personal appearance gave the idea of an honest peasant dragged from the fields, arrayed as a prince by some mockery of destiny, and forced to appear unwillingly before an imposing multitude. But this very rusticity in the appearance of Louis XVI. constituted at this moment one of the elements of the sensibility he had excited amongst his people. The probity, the goodness, the candour, even the softness of his nature, spread over his features a character of integrity, of cordiality, and of paternity, which traced every suspicion of violence or stratagem from the imagination of his subjects. What France required at that moment to co-operate with its wishes, was neither genius, war, or majesty on the throne, but probity, sincerity and good intention. All these virtues belonged to Louis XVI., and amidst all the natural defects of a king, his features gave unerring indications of an honest man.”

The companion-picture is, of course,

MARIE ANTONIETTE.

“Marie Antonette Archduchess of Austria, daughter of Maria Theresa, on her first appearance dazzled the court and all France. She was then but sixteen years old. Her precocious beauty eclipsed that of Madame du Barry, the favourite of Louis XV., and the modern Phryne. But the beauty of Madame du Barry was that of a courtesan; the beauty of Marie Antonette was that of a princess. Nature had adorned her with all the gifts that made her, as a woman, an object of admiration, and as a Queen, an object for adoration; in shape tall, her movements were swan-like in carriage and deportment; in elegance such as to lose nothing of her majesty; her hair was blonde and silken, and its warm tints reminded the beholder of the wavy tresses of Titian; a lofty oval forehead, like to those of the fair daughters of the Danube; eyes of liquid azure, in which the calm and the tempest of the soul made the look by turns sleep or undulate; the nose slightly aquiline; the mouth Austrian, of her family, that is, a mingling of pride and of a smile: the chin turned up; her colour heightened by the chill climate of the north, an irresistible grace shed like a youthful vapour over all her features, and which did not allow her to be viewed but through an atmosphere of fire or of inebriation. Such was Marie Antonette, whom the policy of the Duke de Choiseul, and the ambition of Maria Theresa, gave as a spouse to Louis XVI., at that time the Duke de Berri. A prince of his age, and of another temperament, would have been infatuated; he remained cold, absent, and indifferent to all those charms. Nature approached in vain to the circle of his passive soul in order there to awaken love. The Princess was for a long period nothing more to her husband than the Dauphiness, to be ostentatiously presented at the public ceremonies for the admiration of the court and of the people. No habitual intimacy, except that of etiquette, gave a charm or fecundity to their union. Exclusively addicted to the pleasures of the chase, or to his manual labours, the Dauphin abandoned his youthful spouse to the dangers, to the want of occupation, and to the suspicious society of a Court in which a reigning courtesan ruled. Some women who were fastidious from their importunate etiquette, or light females who flattered her fancies, were the only sources of diversion for Marie Antonette while thus neglected by her husband. Being, then, surrounded on the one side by persons for whom she felt antipathy, and on the other by characters who exposed her to great dangers, she felt all the wearisomeness of youth, the ennui of gravity, and the eagerness for amusements, the headstrong levity of a child to whom toys are shown and then taken away. With melancholy feelings she compared the morose and disgraceful coldness of her husband with the handsome, agreeable, and complaisant Count d'Artois, who was then the delight of the court. She formed a connexion innocently, but futilely, with this prince and the females who were the equivocal companions of his amusements. The extravagant freaks of this young party, which were concealed from the eyes of the Dauphin, or tolerated by him with apathetic indifference, became the amusement of the courtiers, the talk of Versailles, and the scandal of Paris. Youth, inexperience, the absence of all serious advice, the thirst of amusements interdicted to her rank, the seductions of opportunities, and the facile complicity of the women in her service, threw Marie Antonette into imprudences which sometimes assumed the appearance of irregularities. She, unknown to her husband, planned a nocturnal trip to Paris, under the escort of Count d'Artois, then young as she was. She with one or two of her women, threw herself into a private carriage, which whirled her rapidly to Paris, and there, disguised in dresses of character, and as a shepherdess, which concealed her majesty without hiding her name, she passed the night under a mask at the public festivities, or in a ball at the opera; she was pleased to be there recognised by the pliancy of her form, or by the beauty of her hands; she there listened without anger to the homage offered to her beauty, as it flattered her pride without having the right to offend her rank. Sometimes, accompanied by a single servant-woman, she got into the common coaches, then stationed on the public roads, and a vehicle, without a name, transported in the night time the future Queen of France to the portal of a theatre; while her husband, who was the butt of the raillery of the courtiers, was fast asleep at Versailles. These levities, applauded by those who participated in them, betrayed at Versailles, talked of in Paris, magnified and indiscriminated by public malignity, became the conversation of France, and the scandal of Europe. Motives were attributed to them which perverted the whole. The favourite beauties were named; the favoured lovers were pointed out; the Dauphin was pitted; the Count d'Artois was blamed; the almost general licentiousness of morals then prevailing revenged itself by incriminating, with the most rigid severity, the thoughtlessness of youth at court. Public opinion, which had at first idolized Marie Antonette, then conceived impressions against her which were never effaced.”

The following portrait of Necker strikes us as less truthful than the others. If some habitually exaggerate the talents and virtues of the minister, M. Lamartine, we think, unduly depreciates them.

M. NECKER.

“His countenance displayed the man. Pride, solemnity, stateliness devoid of character, a lofty forehead, a confident eye, a close and not ungracious mouth, foreign features, in which German gravity struggled with French shallowness; self-satisfaction, disdain for others, affected good nature, feigned modesty, the attitude of a servant who protects his

master, a look that canvassed for esteem, a lachrymose and wordy sensibility, out of place in public affairs; an equivocal philosopher, who accepted the caresses of atheism while kneeling to the state religion; a visible intoxication of sectarian popularity; a real honesty, but one which displayed itself with the parade of charlatanism, and which dwelt with ostentation on its slightest acts, public or private; an advertisement of virtue, a part of perpetual indecision between the loyal subject, the infatuated parvenu, and the popular man of faction—such was the exterior, and such was the man; original type of the politicians of that doctrinal, self-sufficient, and supercilious school which agitated and governed for two reigns, the progeny of Necker, the schoolmen of the Revolution. . . . He undertook subjects for the French Academy, in which politics and administration were connected with literature. His heavy and emphatic eloquence affected the sensibility of Jean Jacques Rousseau, without possessing its fascination. The words virtue, religion, humanity, philosophy, love for the people, public felicity, sanctified his books in the eyes of the financiers, while his knowledge of commercial and administrative economy imposed upon men of letters. The caresses bestowed by his wife upon the arbiters of literary taste prepared the way for his success. The respectful worship which Madame Necker professed for the genius of her husband was communicable to all her society; it was believed on her assertion. M. Necker had thus become in the eyes of public opinion a mystery of genius, of virtue, and of practical capacity, which no one had ascertained, but all attested. His respectability formed a sect in Paris. It was the epoch when a craving for prodigies agitated the imaginations of those who were weary of the actual present; when Mesmer, Saint-Martin, and Cagliostro exercised their fascinations; and when a certain dose of charlatanism was essential even to merit and to virtue.”

We feel ourselves restricted to one portrait more—and, while we advise our readers to see all that Lamartine has written of Mirabeau, because it cannot be abridged without injury to a finely told story, we can find nothing better suited to us for quotation than this sketch, from materials supplied by his father, of

THE YOUTHFUL MIRABEAU.

“‘I have nothing to tell you about my enormous son,’ wrote the father, a few months after his birth, ‘except that he beats his nurse.’ ‘He is as ugly as the son of Satan,’ he added a year after. ‘It is a sand in which nothing remains,’ he said when the child was five years old. ‘I have put him into the hands of Poisson, who is attached to me like a spaniel. Thank him very much for the education he is giving the monkey. Let him make a firm citizen of him, that is all that’s necessary. With these qualities he will make the race of pigmies tremble who play the part of grandees of the court!’ ‘There is a part in a comedy to be performed this evening by a young monster whom they call my son, but who, if he were the son of our greatest actor, could not more naturally be a buffoon, a mimic, and a comedian. His body grows, his babbling increases, and his features are becoming marvellously ugly,—ugly beyond all possible rivalship; and, still more, he’s a random speechifier. He is sickly; and if I were obliged to create a substitute for him, where on earth should I find another specimen of such stuff? He is turbulent, and yet he is also gentle and complying, but his complaisance becomes foolish. He is all back and belly, like Punch, but capable of acting on occasions like the tortoise, patiently presenting his shell to a storm of blows; thus this great monster of a Gabriel goes begging everywhere, that he may bestow charity on beggars, following in this respect the example of his mother, in spite of everything I can say to them that there is nothing more contrary to my principles. The other day, at one of those fêtes which we sometimes give, and where prizes are bestowed on the best runners, he gained a prize of a hat; and turning towards another child who had no cap, he put his own cap, which was a good one, on the head of the young peasant, exclaiming: ‘Take you that—I haven’t got two heads!’ At the moment he appeared to me like the emperor of the world. Something of a divine character shone rapidly in his countenance. I thought of it, I wept over it, and the lesson did me good.’ But a few days after, as if repenting his emotion, this father wrote to his brother: ‘It has only just sprung forth, and the overflowing is already complete: it is a contrary, fantastic, impetuous, troublesome spirit, with a leaning to evil before it knows what evil is, or is capable of effecting any; a lofty heart under the jacket of a child; a strange but noble pride; the embryo of a Hector in a flurry, that wishes to swallow up all the world before he is twelve years old. A most unparalleled type of meanness, of absolute vapidity, a rugged worm that will never change its form; but, with all that that, a memory, an aptitude, a precocious capacity, which grasps, amazes, and terrifies! But a quarter of a man, however, if he ever is anything at all; it is only with brutal appetites that we find such characters,—there is a scum in every race.’”

The True Law of Population shewn to be connected with the Food of the People. By THOMAS DOUBLEDAY, Author of “Financial History of England,” &c. Third, and enlarged edition. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

LET any one open one of our standard works on “Political Economy,” and read the chapter in which the subject of Population is discussed; let him take Mr. Senior's, for instance, which ably treats of the different opinions of Malthus, Mill, and others, in the exposition of what the author terms the second fundamental proposition of the science; and he will be at once impressed with the fact, that the Law of Population is yet concealed from our most eminent economists, and that the facts and speculations made use of to determine the conditions of the increase and limitation of population, have been, the former too few, the latter too hasty and gratuitous, for any thing like a satisfactory and self-commending exposition of the question. When Mr. Doubleday's book first appeared, in 1841, it brought to the discussion an array of facts and reasonings of the most valuable kind; and contributed, both negatively and positively, to the solution of many of the difficulties by which the subject was surrounded. If it provoked some new antagonism, and failed to establish its theory in general repute and acceptance, we consider that it, also, silenced some older disputants, and exploded some former theories,

beyond the need of repeating that labour. If the "true law of population" was not completely made out, at least a law of increase and limitation was most satisfactorily established, which can never be lost sight of or rejected, in future attempts to solve the problem, except by the most prejudiced dogmatists or ignorant inquirers.

Mr. Doubleday's theory is—that the "great general law" which regulates the increase or decrease of both animal and vegetable life, is this, "that whenever a species or genus is endangered, a corresponding effort is invariably made by nature for its preservation and continuance, by an increase of fecundity or fertility; and that this especially takes place whenever such danger arises from a diminution of proper nourishment or food, so that consequently, the state of depletion, or the deplethoric state, is favourable to fertility; and that on the other hand, the plethoric state or state of repletion, is unfavourable to fertility, in the ratio of the intensity of such state, and this probably throughout nature universally, in the vegetable as well as the animal world." The author's object is, to prove the existence and operation of this law, from a multitude of facts, all pointing one way and corroborating each other. He first, traces it throughout the vegetable creation, and in the world of inferior animals up to man; then, he inquires, whether this analogy is continued? and whether the race of man is subject to the same law of fertility with the rest of that creation at the head of which he stands? and he adduces a large number of facts in support of the affirmative. But, as this "nice and important question" cannot be decided by mere general views, he proceeds to make it more minutely and particularly the object of examination; and attempts to show, that it is true as regards countries and their populations, taken separately, country by country. After exemplifying the law he has described, in the increase and decrease of limited bodies of men, by a very various crowd of facts and statistics; he further exemplifies it, even yet more fully and elaborately, as it operates amongst nations; and adduces some minor proofs and confirmations. Various species of argument are then brought to bear on the existence and action of such a law; the argument from the solution of historical difficulties; from the revenue; from the recent decrease of the quantity of animal food consumed in England; and from the current opinions of mankind in past time. We have not more particularly described these modes of argument, nor made any selection from the facts on which Mr. Doubleday relies, because such a course could do little to inform, and nothing at all to convince, the reader; the case being one in which the force of congruity alone can render the proofs sufficient, and the theory tenable. But from the author's considerations on the internal evidence for his hypothesis, we make a collection of brief passages, as to the results, natural and moral, which flow from it.

"Under this law of increase and decrease, a provision is made for the protection of any species that is endangered, which is efficient only when it is wanted, and in the precise ratio in which it is wanted. This upon the face of it, seems surely to be a more wise and providential arrangement, than would be a law under which the tendency to increase is supposed to be always equal. It is so, because such a law as that pre-supposes an equal protection equally requisite at all times; which is absurd. . . . In short, the supposition of such a law is to suppose the application of an invariable rule to ever-varying circumstances; which is an absurd supposition, and not in accordance either with the wisdom or benevolence of the Deity, whilst a law that is efficient when wanted, and which is relaxed when not wanted, seems to be in strict accordance with a providential wisdom and benevolence, and equally well calculated for the protection and benefit of created beings, of whatsoever description they may be. In short, as it seems to the author, a law such as he has described seems to unite the two desirable attributes of being, not only beautiful as an arrangement, but benignant as an instrument.

"If it be true, that population is checked or increased according to varying or opposite circumstances, it follows, as a plain consequence, that a community may suffer in two different ways, or from two opposite mistakes, as to their social condition. If, for instance, a nation be so circumstanced, that its population has a general command, not only over the necessities, but also over the luxuries of life, it may still happen that, whether this command be the fruits of mild and good government, or of great industry, or of peculiar position, or a combination of all or of some of these advantages, this apparently fortunate situation may in the end be unfortunate if these advantages be abused. Evil may here arise out of good; for if the bulk of a people indulge in luxury to an excess, the consequence must be, not only an effeminacy of mind and morals, and a decay of the public virtues which are necessary to the existence of States, but, in addition to this, an actual physical decay and diminution of numerical strength, probably most valued at the top of society, and extending downwards as far as the luxury reaches in the ratio of its extent. Such States soon become the prey of other States, whose situation has not included the same tendencies towards national debility, or become the victims of some tyranny within themselves, which in either case, work a sharp and bitter cure to an insidious disease. Such, beyond a doubt, is the true history of the fall of many states. It was probably the too great luxury which grew up in England under the dynasty of the Plantagenets, which called the English people into their submission to the cries and tyrannies of the Tudors. Thus, if we knew the particulars, in all probability, fell the Assyrian Empire; and by this process most certainly, came the ruin of that of Rome."

From those portions of this theory which to explain the effects upon population of the opposite state of general destitution, may be delivered a political lesson fully as important [as the other, from the effects of luxury]. It is, that a long-continued depression, down to destitution of a whole people, will, in the long run, be revenged on itself and those who caused it, by the superfluous and unmanageable pauper population which it is sure to generate. From the same facts, also, we may draw another axiom not less important—that no kind of government is so dangerous and fatal as a fiscal tyranny, whether such tyranny consists in the prostration of the poor cultivators before the capacity of the owners of the soil, or before the united exactions of government and landlord. In either case the fruit is, at last an overwhelming and starving population, for which society cannot find either room, food, or employment, and who are, therefore, perpetually urged, by necessity and the pangs of hunger and want, to overthrow the government which has been the means of creating and placing them in this dreadful situation."

The "Condition-of-Ireland Question," as it used to be called, is suggestively illustrated in the latter part of the foregoing extract: and the political lessons of the author's theory are worthy of the profound consideration of rulers and statesmen. It is when thus brought to bear on social questions, that the real value of Mr. Doubleday's remarkable collection of facts, and the unspeakable importance of the whole subject, will be perceived. We hope that there are but few in our own time—that there are some, we know—who will regard the whole inquiry as useless and nearly impious; on the ground that the supposition of such a law of population shuts out the immediate agency of God, and separates the existence and life of the individual from the decree and appointment of his Creator!

The principal objection that has been taken to Mr. Doubleday's theory, is by Mr. Herbert Spencer, in an article in the *Westminster Review*, since published in a separate form, and entitled, "A Theory of Population deduced from the General Law of Animal Fertility." In a postscript to the present edition, Mr. Doubleday replies to that "very erudite review." Mr. Spencer's objection—and we quote it direct from his own pages—is, that Mr. Doubleday's theory "does not disclose a self-adjusting law"—or, "self-rectifying arrangement." He argues, that this will at once be seen on applying the law supposed to the human race as now existing;—thus, if mankind are in a deplethoric state, then, according to the theory, an undue rate of increase will result; and the only remedy is, to produce a comparatively plethoric state;—but, if the present production of necessities of life is insufficient for the normal nutrition of the race, and if the resulting deplethoric state involves that the next generation will greatly exceed the present in numbers, then, for anything that appears, the next generation will be in a more deplethoric state still. Unless, then, Mr. Doubleday can show that the means of subsistence will increase more rapidly than the unduly fertile people,—nay, unless he can show that his law involves, under such circumstances, a greater increase of food than of people, (—and that he neither does, says the objector, nor can do,—) the alleged law lacks that very principle of self-adjustment, which, as both the author of the theory and his critic agree, is the test of the real law. Mr. Spencer, it will be seen, does not deny that Mr. Doubleday has discovered "a law of variation," but denies that it alone constitutes the law of population, because it contains no principle of compensation.

Mr. Doubleday seems to us to have missed the point of this objection; and in refuting Mr. Spencer's new theory, (with which we do not here feel called on to meddle,) and in endeavouring to show that his own law has the same compensating principle and ultimate result as that proposed by Mr. Spencer, he has omitted to deal with the difficulty started—the increase of food relatively to the increase of population. It is not our intention to try to suggest a reply. The objection is one, after all, which merely starts the old economical question, Whether it be the tendency of food or population to advance with the greater rapidity? The answer of Mr. Doubleday would, probably, be substantially the same with Mr. Senior's argument against the doctrine—held, under some modifications of form, by Malthus, Mill, and Macculloch—that there is a tendency in population to increase faster than the means of subsistence. That answer is, that, in the absence of disturbing causes, subsistence is likely to increase more rapidly than population; and that there are causes, and causes in human control, by which their relative advance can be regulated.

It appears to us—that Mr. Mill, in his slight reference to Mr. Doubleday's theory, in the last edition of his "Political Economy," has not done justice to the facts or reasonings of the author. One almost suspects him of prejudice against the theory on the very ground which commends it, in common with Mr. Spencer's wholly different hypothesis, to an unusually careful and impartial consideration; namely, that it asserts "a different law of increase in different circumstances, through a providential adaptation of the fecundity of the human species to the exigencies of society." We ourselves should be predisposed to expect on all grounds of analogy in the arrangements of Divine Providence, that such a characteristic would belong to the true law of population. But Mr. Mill

authoritatively sets all such theories aside, as "ephemeral, and speedily forgotten." We do not see that Mr. Doubleday has referred at all to Mr. Mill's note on his work; but he might have collected from the "Political Economy" itself, (Book i. chap. 10.), a confirmation of his views, which Mr. Mill could not have intended to afford, but could not more distinctly state:—"Subsistence and employment in England have never increased more rapidly than in the last thirty years, but every census since 1821 showed a smaller proportional increase of population than that of the period preceding; and the produce of French agriculture and industry is increasing in a progressive ratio, while the population exhibits in every quinquennial census, a smaller proportion of births to the population."

We have wished to speak modestly of the work of Mr. Doubleday, and of the matters we have touched upon in passing along; as being ourselves inquirers, and not yet enjoying much confidence or satisfaction in the results of this particular inquiry. But we feel some boldness in saying, that this work will yet produce the impression its ability and fairness ought to make, and will colour future discussions of the subject; notwithstanding the judgment of so high an authority as Mr. Mill, that it contains "one of the ephemeral theories" that are "speedily forgotten."

Balder. Part the First. By the Author of "The Roman." London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

SYDNEY YENDYS's first poem, "The Roman," did not come before us for critical notice. Of course we read it, and admired it, and rejoiced in the prospect it opened to us, of receiving some further and ripper work from a writer who evidently possessed "the gift and faculty divine." It was a fine production; great, though extremely faulty; often magnificent even in its very faults. It had remarkable power and depth of feeling; but it was rhetorical in manner, and monotonous in tone. It had a rough dramatic form; but missed the distinctness and force of action, and the wholeness of expression, for which the drama is precious—the highest form of poetic composition. It was full of poetry; but, as the author himself admits, fell far short of being a poem. Its merits were that it had riches of imagination and fancy, a strong current of noble passion, and a wonderful felicity of language. These bore fruit in occasional passages and lines of the truest originality; sometimes full of lusty vigour, sometimes of delicate beauty. And so "The Roman," on the whole, charmed us and won upon us; and while we aloud protested against its rhetorical character, we inwardly delighted in its promise, that the poetic powers of Sydney Yendys must yet produce something essentially poetical, and that he would give to the world a work worthy of its gratitude.

And now he gives us "Balder," a poem extending to nearly three hundred pages, containing above seven thousand lines, and yet described as only "Part the First!" Whether that is not a mistake, the most favourably disposed readers will doubt, at the outset. A poem, dramatic in form, but with only two characters,—with literally no action at all, but only a series of soliloquies, and a few incidental conversations,—is very unlikely to maintain its interest, and hold the reader to the end; if, even, such a construction of a poem be not wholly wanting both in the method of art, and in fitness to a protracted story and its long-deferred completion.

Let our intelligent friend, the reader, now sit down with us to "Balder," and we will try its power over us. If he likes "The Roman," as well as we do, he will open "Balder" with lively hope and almost trembling expectation. We do not glance casually at the pages, without discovering beauties that fascinate, and thoughts that stir us. Here, at random, as we turn the leaves:—

"That the head should write,
And with a gush of living blood, the heart
Should blot it! As one proves there is no God,
And falls upon his knees!"

"Dew to the early grass, Light to the eyes,
Brooks to the murmuring hills, Spring to the earth,
Sweet winds to opening flowers, MORN to the heart!
But more than dew to grass or light to eyes,
Or brooks to murmuring hills or spring to earth,
Or winds to opening flowers, MORN to the heart!
Once more to live is to be happy; Life
With backward-streaming hair and eyes of haste
That look beyond the hills, doth urge no more
Her palpitating feet; Her wild hair falls
Soft thro' the happy light upon her limbs,
She turns her wandering gaze upon herself,
Sweet saying—'It is good.'"

"The uncommanded host
Of living nations, swaying to and fro
Like waves of a great sea that in mid-shock
Confound each other, white with foam and fear,
Roar for a leader."

"Fall twilight rain that dost not strive nor cry,
But chillest all the time with silent sorrow;
And not a wind does violence, nor a plaint
Stirs the dark quiet of the latter leaves:
But—as in speechless looks of him who stands

Withered and wan by the wayside of Fate,
Timeless, unwelcome, all his better lot
Outlived, and the dear fashion of his day
And race forgotten, bended to his ill,
And lifting not the unavailing voice
Which no man heedeth—lorn and stillest tears
Grow in the fade eyes of the relict power."

But these are only tastings of the poem, and in their isolation, though rich in beauty and in expressive words, seem somewhat purposeless. Let us make a more orderly commencement of our reading. We find that Balder is a poet; and he is discovered by us in a study in an

"Old tower gloomy and ruinous,
Wherein I make mine eyrie as an eagle
Among the rocks."

With him dwells his wife, Amy; who is thus referred to in Balder's opening apostrophe to the scenery and place of his abode:—

"You floors, in whose black oak
The straitened hamadryad lives and groans,
Ye creaking dark and antiquated floors,
Who know so well in what sad note to join
The weary lullaby what time she rocks
Her babe, and murmurs music sad and low,
So sad and low as if this tower did keep
The murmur of the years as a sea-shell
The sea, or in these legendary halls
The mere air stirred, and with some old unknown
Sufficient conscience moved upon itself,
Whispering and sighing; ruined castle-wall,
Whereby she groweth like some delicate flower
In a deserted garden, thou grim wall
Hemming her in with thine unmannered rock
Wherein I sat her as a wandering clown
Who, in a fairy ring, by night doth seize
Some elfin taper, and would have it burn
In his gaunt lantern wrought by human hands
Uncouth, yet art so passing bright with her—
So fragrant! little window in the wall,
Eye-lashed with balmy sprays of honeysuckle,
Sweet jessamine, and ivy ever sad,
Wherein like a most melancholy eye,
All day she sits and looks forth on a world
Less fair than she, and as a living soul
Informs the rugged face of the old tower
With beauty; when the soul hath left the face
The sad eye looks no longer from the lid,
The sweet light is put out in the long rain,
The flower is withered on the wall, the voice
Will never murmur any more, and ye—
Ye that both spake and saw, are dumb and blind."

This is very beautiful, and the fancy wonderfully in harmony with the feeling of the lines. We very soon learn how life passes with Amy in this ruined tower, from her own lips. A door stands open, which leads from Balder's study to another room, and her voice is borne through to us, as she sings and rocks her babe to sleep,—

"Amy. The years they come, and the years they go
Like winds that blow from sea to sea;
From dark to dark they come and go,
All in the dew-fall and the rain.

Down by the stream there be two sweet willows,
—Hush thee, babe, while the wild winds blow,—
One hale, one blighted, two wedded willows
All in the dew-fall and the rain.

She is blighted, the fair young willow,
—Hush thee, babe, while the wild winds blow,—
She hears the spring-blood beat in the bark;
She hears the spring-leaf bud on the bough;
But she bends blighted, the wan weeping willow,
All in the dew-fall and the rain.

The stream runs sparkling under the willow,
—Hush thee, babe, while the wild winds blow,—
The summer rose-leaves drop in the stream.
The winter oak-leaves drop in the stream;
But she bends blighted, the wan weeping willow,
All in the dew-fall and the rain.

Sometimes the wind lifts the bright stream to her,
—Hush thee, babe, while the wild winds blow,—
The false stream sinks, and her tears fall faster;
Because she touched it her tears fall faster;
Over the stream her tears fall faster,
All in the sunshine or the rain.

The years they come and the years they go;
Sing well-away, sing well-away!
And under mine eyes shines the bright life-river;
Sing well-away, sing well-away!
Sweet sounds the spring in the hale green willow,
The goodly green willow, the green waving willow;
Sweet in the willow, the wind-whispering willow;
Sing well-away, sing well-away!
But I bend blighted, the wan-weeping willow,
All in the sun, and the dew, and the rain."

The perfect music and deep pathos of this song cannot be denied. In its way, it is very exquisite. But what of Balder? What make of soul and hue of life has this poet, whose wife's sad moaning for the neglect and dreariness she suffers, is ringing in our ears? Balder discourses to himself aloud, sometimes really grandly, but often only magniloquently, and with preposterous self-consciousness. He tells us—

"—Life hath been to me a strange wild dream,
Wherein the prodigies that haunt and home
Within a human bosom have been brought
Marvel by marvel, as to Adam once
The monsters of the earth, that I might name them,
And know them, and be friends with them."

And so experienced is he in earth's marvels and sorrows, that there is but one new sight and endurance remaining for him,—

"DEATH, careful of my learning, hath withstayed
His final presence, lest his shade ally
My wounds, and, as before the King of beasts,
The lesser horrors of the wilderness
Flee at his great approach. I have not seen him
In cause or in effect."

And then the clue to the after mystery of the poem—whether we can follow it, we will not say, yet—is given in the lines that follow, when, still speaking of Death, the poet says—

"—till he come my perfect manhood lacks,
And this that I was born to do is done,
By nothing less than man."

He longs for this "one delayed experience," and believes it will conduct him to his throne. The throne he seeks, is—

"The seat of tempered Power. Not Fame but Power."
"Power like a God's, and wielded like a God."

And intensely he affirms, that "up thro' his mystic years" he has believed, that he should

"—be the King of men, and on the inform
And perishable substance of the time,
Beget a better world."

And here, before we question further Balder's ambition, we must read this passage, in which occurs a succession of fine and most original images—and images, too, not introduced for their own beauty's sake, but for their true service to the thought the poet would express.

"—When at the first,
Because I was no higher than mankind,
All men went past, and no man looked on me,
I felt no humbler. When this ample frame
Expanded into majesty, and they
Who saw fell back admiring, I beheld
Their change, not mine; for the unconscious child,
Tho' for his childhood he be special child,
Is universal man, and in his thoughts
Doth glass the future. The thin sapling oak,
Hid in the annual herbage of the field,
Hath oaken members, and can boast no more
When they defy the storms of heaven, and roost
The weary-winged Ages. One alone,
Early and late,—faithful as she who knows
And keeps the secret of the founding heir—
Did bear me witness. Nature from my birth
Confessed me, as who in a multitude
Confesseth her beloved and makes no sign;
Or as one all unowned in her deep haunts,
If her true-love come on her unawares,
Hastes not to hide her breast, nor is afraid;
Or as a mother 'mid her sons displays
The arms their glorious father wore, and, kind,
In silence with discerning love commits
Some lesser danger to each younger hand,
But to the conscious eldest of the house
The naked sword; or as a sage amid
His pupils in the peopled portico,
Where all stand equal, gives no precedence,
But by intercalated look and word
Of equal seeming, wise but to the wise,
Denotes the favoured scholar from the crowd;
Or as the keeper of the palace-gate
Denies the gorgeous stranger and his pomp
Of gold, but at a glance, although he come
In fashion as a commoner, unstarred,
Let's the prince pass."

Balder's wish is, of course, to write a poem,—one of which he may say—

"—I have lived what I have sung,
And it shall live:—"

—one for which the world shall justify him in saying—

"I think I have struck off
One from the weary score of human tasks.
Having so told my story in a tongue
So common to the ages, that no man
In after times shall tell it, but the fact
To which I have given voice shall be laid by."

Now, we have got through as much as the "gentle reader," who sat down with us to this study of Balder, will feel to be appropriate to the first sitting. So, we suppose, we must give him a few hints of what is to come. We may, first, tell him, that the passages he has read are nearly the best part of the poem, and represent, by their peculiar cast of thought and vein of feeling, the whole of the remainder. Balder soliloquises in the same style, through many scores of pages; or reads aloud from his epic, passages on various topics connected with the main subject of "Genius." And these talks and readings are broken in upon, over and over again, by the plaintive voice of Amy, whose melancholy singing bears the constant burden—

"That I might die, and be at rest, oh, God!"

As for the story of the poem,—it is only by a strong effort of memory that we can recall anything of story. It amounts only to this, as far as we can understand it,—that Balder, absorbed in his poet-purposes, and feverishly longing "to see the face of Death," as the completion of his life-experience, leaves his wife to solitude and repining; until the loss of her babe brings such sense of utter desolation that she becomes deranged. An episode or two occurs, in which a doctor of medicine is introduced: but, for the most part, the poem proceeds through Balder's discourse and Amy's song, with wearying monotony, to this strange conclusion—or, rather, to this present suspense of its action,—that Balder determines to kill his wife, in order that he may give her freedom, and instruct himself in the desired experience of Death! Now, one feels that this is a parable,—that there is a mystical meaning in it all. But we are sorry to say that we have been unable to discover it. We can readily conceive that Sydney Yendys had no intention to mystify his readers; but had he intended it, he could not have succeeded better. We have not the ingenuity or subtlety necessary

to detect the truths or facts of the life of an individual mind—for such, we suppose, they are meant to be—in the embodiments the author has given them. If we knew him, we would ask the aid of the gentleman who does the subtle for the *North British*; and who discovered a profound theory of life and the universe in Tennyson's "Princess." But, till we secure such interpretative aid, we can only look at Sydney Yendys's story as a monster of a morbid mind, hateful and disgusting. But, at the best, so slight is this thread of story, that were it not for the singleness of purpose dimly discernible through the character of Amy, we should have held that the story was invented only to supply connecting links for a large body of fragments, that had accumulated in the poet's drawer; and which he here chose to produce as soliloquies and quotations from an imaginary epic, and might have named, "Voices of a Poet's Ambitions." Fragmentary, incoherent, obscure, the work certainly is; and it will be a surprise to us if it ever becomes popular, or even generally known. And it is such a pity! such a disappointment! Why, there is thought and passion, high imagination and delicate fancy, enough in this book to redeem any poem not hopelessly obscure, or wilfully strange and queer. If one might ignore the writer's plan and aims, and convert it into a book of fragments, it would be possible, by the omission of about one-half, which is fantastic or stilted, to make it evident that it abounds with beauties, with revelations of deep truth, and with the glories of great and original power. It may be, that our failure to discern the inner meaning of the poem, is a case of sheer stupidity; and that the author would address us with Balder's words:—

"The eye indeed perceives, but the shut soul
Hath no reception:—"

and may comfort himself, as doth Balder, in saying:—

"Whatso'er attains
In solitude, and out of sight doth fling
The stone of practice, wherewith vulgar tongues
May cry unskilled applause on the wide throw
Of s'rong attempt, nor ever in men's eyes
Hath eminence so young that the kind hand
Of popular approval dare be laid
Upon its head, I love."

Before we close this notice,—which is sincere and regretful, not captious or judicial,—we desire to extract a few lines from one of the most simple and natural passages of the poem. Balder, musing, speaks, having just buried their babe:—

"Little babe,
Who wentest out from us two days ago
Not to return, what has become of thee
In this great universe? That thou art changed
I know; for whereas thou hadst lain since birth
On the warm breast that fed thee in a dream
Of peace, and, like a flower, wert given and ta'en
Unconscious, on a morn thou didst awake,
And while we weeping strove to keep thee, thou
As at some awful voice that called the hence
On high behest, becamest a man in will,
And ceasing thy babe's cry didst go in haste!
We also went a little way with thee,
As they whose best-beloved doth cross the seas
Attend him to the shore—even to the brink
Of the great deep, and stretch along the sands
Wringing vain hands of sorrow; yet none saith
'Why goest thou?' nor with naked sword of love
Denies, and none doth leap into his fate,
Crying 'I also,' and with desperate clasp
Hang on his neck till breakers far behind
Forbid return. Spell-bound they stand and dry
On the sea-line, and not a quivering lip
Murmureth 'to-morrow;' but his sire doth seize
The prow that would recede, and with stern will
Holds it, rebellious, to the task, and she
Who bore him, with her tears and trembling hands
Constrains and hastes him lest he lose the tide."

My babe, my babe,
What have we done? At whose sufficient pledge,
Upon whose testimony, and well-sworn
Assurance have we left thee, and believed?
Did I go down before thee? Did I try
The unventured way?

Was it a door
From this most ordered world into the waste
Of all things? Have we shut thee forth, poor child,
And wist not of thy journey, nor the end
And exit of that gloomy subterranean
Which thou didst enter, and whose unknown mouth
May be in Chaos? This, the upper gate,
Was fair, and, hanging o'er, the flowers looked down
After thee going, shedding many dew
That went as falling stars into the gulph,
A moment bright like thee. But, oh thou babe,
What of the nether port, which thou hast reached
Who wert so swift to go?"

We have not made our extracts for the sake of vindicating our own criticisms, but with the intention of representing the work at its best. Strongly as we object to the conception, and to the wilfulness and obscurity of the poem, we should have been sorry not to have "Balder," if Sydney Yendys really means to carry his art no farther, and has nothing better to offer us.

Poetical Works of John Dryden. Vol. I. Annotated Edition of the English Poets. Edited by ROBERT BELL. London: J. W. Parker & Son, West Strand.

WHEN we, ourselves, first began to collect the

works of our British poets, years ago, great were our difficulties and toils, in obtaining satisfactory copies of the authors we desired. There was then no "Aldine Edition," nor any other uniform and accessible edition—unless we except the sight-destroying "Diamond Poets," in 48mo. volumes—nor any considerable number of decent reprints of single authors. We had patiently to search for old editions; to take what we could find, that came within our modest means of purchase; and, occasionally, to descend to the said "Diamond" volumes, that we might possess at all copies of some of the poets less generally read. Since then, cheap reprints of particular poets have become plentiful enough, in almost every "mo" from eight to forty-eight; and the "Aldine Edition" has benefited and delighted a higher order of purchasers,—that is, such as were not tired out by its protracted and irregular periods of issue. Still, it has been long and universally felt, that a good edition of our poets, accurate as to text, and accompanied by such brief notes as the author's meaning absolutely required, and published in a convenient form and at a reasonable price, was urgently needed, and would be a true boon whenever it might appear. Several attempts have recently been made to supply this great and confessed want; of one of which we have spoken with pleasure and approval, in noticing its commencing volumes. It can be no matter of regret to us, and none to the public, that there are several of these attempts. We will not consent to regard them as rivals; for we are sure there is room for their friendly competition, and, if they deserve it, for their perfect success. And we are glad to see that in size, individual character, and special adaptations, this new series of Mr. Parker's is so unlike that we have already commended to our readers, that scarcely can any injurious collision arise between them.

Every reproduction of a standard author must, as we have often urged, be tried, first of all, as to the accuracy of its text. This first volume of the "Annotated Edition" of the works of Dryden, has been compared by us carefully with the best copies, as to several of the poems it contains; and as we have detected only an irregularity in printing the possessive case of one word—"Charles his," "Charles's," and "Charles,"—and the misprints of "goldsmiths" for "godsmiths," and "one" for "once,"—we have no very heavy indictment against the book on that score. A longer search might have yielded more errors; but while something might yet be gained by more attention to punctuation, the use of capitals; and some other minuter matters, our impression, on the whole, is, that this volume shows as perfect a text of Dryden as has ever been produced. But we protest against printing such a lengthy poem as the "Absalom and Achitophel," or even the "Astræa Redux," without numerals to the lines: it is a strong objection to any copy of a standard poet, seeing that literary references can be made conveniently, and the common consultation of a considerable poem can become easy and pleasant, only by an aid which permits the number of a line to be stated. We earnestly hope Mr. Parker will have this point attended to in the future volumes of the series.

But the great feature of the edition is the "Annotations" by Mr. Bell. These comprise Introductions to the poems severally, and illustrative notes. The former contain what may be called the history of the poem, and a criticism of its purpose and merits. The latter contain biographical and explanatory details, required by the personal, political, or other allusions, occurring so frequently in Dryden. Mr. Bell states that his aim has been, "that the reader not previously familiar with the events and characteristics of the period, might easily comprehend the spirit and purpose of the Poems." We have no reason to doubt that this aim has been steadily and conscientiously pursued; but, in passing along, we have repeatedly found occasion to differ from Mr. Bell's judgment as to what is really and absolutely necessary, and what is more than necessary, for the illustration of his author. One must give an editor some license in this respect; and must be satisfied with a near approximation to one's wants and desires. Mr. Bell seems to us to err both by excess and by defect, but he is generally useful and interesting to his readers; and the Introductions and Notes form, thus far, the best historical commentary we have on Dryden. In criticism, Mr. Bell displays good sense, and, when not very original, at least reflects the most enlightened and valuable judgment of others. There is nothing of genius in the criticisms; nor any brilliancy or power of writing: but they display true perception, just decision, and good taste, combined with the power of conveying information or thought, with perfect clearness and expressiveness.

A "Memoir of Dryden," extending to nearly a hundred closely-printed pages, is a favourable specimen of the literary ability and praiseworthy pains-taking of the editor. A similar amount of diligent and thorough inquiry employed on the remaining poets' lives, will render this series of volumes valuable beyond any existing collection of Memoirs

of the British Poets. Not only has Mr. Bell given us, with sufficient brevity, in a very intelligible form, and with an agreeable manner, the commonly known facts of the poet's life; but he has been so happy as to obtain through a living representative of Dryden's family, a copy of the entry of the marriage license of Dryden—which sets at rest a disputed point as to the date and circumstances of that event—and, also, a copy of the Exchequer Warrant, under which was paid the pension granted to the poet by James II., a document which is of some importance to an estimate of one of the most remarkable events in his life. It is well known that the receipt of this pension so nearly coincided with the poet's conversion to the Romish religion, that the two circumstances have generally been held to be connected; and much virtuous indignation has been expended on this mercenary exchange of religion, to please a king, and to obtain a king's gold. Mr. Bell thinks the date of this warrant establishes the fact, that the change of creed took place before the pension was granted; but it does not seem to us to be capable of proving so much. The detail of the facts, and an examination of their bearing, would carry us beyond our space; but we may briefly say, that the pension given by James II., appears to have been but a renewal of a pension formerly granted by Charles II., which had been sometime discontinued;—so that the fact, that when the pension was re-granted, the poet went over to the King's church, leaves him still liable to suspicion—although nothing but a vague suspicion does, or did at any time attach to him. Mr. Bell has also obtained six hitherto unpublished letters of Dryden's, which are interesting and illustrative, although not of great moment. These several discoveries make a considerable addition to the materials for the life of Dryden, and give a character to this new biography.

If we have to complain of Mr. Bell, it is that there is a want of decisiveness and self-consistency in his expression of opinion,—that he indulges occasionally in common place, for which no one will feel grateful to him; and that, when following in the wake of some of his eminent predecessors in this work of editing Dryden, although he may not be chargeable with direct dependence or appropriation, there is an incompleteness about his process of assimilation and individual reproduction, which a strong and original man, and even an industrious one, might avoid. But we shall do Mr. Bell the justice of making as complete a quotation as is possible:—

"Upon none of our poets have more conflicting judgments been pronounced than upon Dryden. The unanimous verdicts of his critics assign him a high place; but remarkable differences exist, in determining what that place is. . . . Now, out of this conflict of judgment comes an indestructible fame, commanding the common sense of all. There must have been a permanent element in his genius to have produced this. What was it? In one word—power. This power, inclusive of many modes of excellence and never failing him in its application, was his great characteristic. A more precise definition might be given; but for a succinct and general answer to the question, What was it that raised Dryden above all his contemporaries, and preserves him on his elevation? this is sufficiently close and comprehensive. He was distinguished, above all things else, for strength of thought, strength of purpose, strength of diction. He was a strong man in verse and prose; bold, energetic, self-reliant, and wide in his reach. There was no weakness in Dryden; no compromise of means or ends. Perhaps there was not much tenderness; yet he had a certain manly sweetness at times, that was all the more precious and affecting from its rarity, and because it seemed to come from the depths of his nature. There was real physical passion—undisguised sensuousness; no love. Robust in all things, his poetry has a weight and an earnestness that take it out of the atmosphere of the imaginative. It is never airy, never sportive. He made poetry the vehicle of politics and controversy, not of feeling or of fancy. There is not a single love-passion throughout the whole, such as we find in Shakespeare or in Fletcher, touching the springs of tears in the heart, and awakening in the reader the emotion it depicts. When he ventures in this direction, it is to exhibit highly-wrought artificial terms of gallantry, as in the *Lines on the Duchess of Portsmouth*; or luscious descriptions, as in the *Cymon and Iphigenia*. He treads heavily, and every footfall crushes the earth beneath. He has none of the characteristics of the cavalier party to which he belonged, except their licentiousness, and that only when it suits his purpose on the stage. He has none of their grace, their sophistry, their lace-work; even his licentiousness differed from theirs. It was too lusty for their showy and volatile spirits. There was nothing of what is called sentiment in Dryden. He seldom produces any other emotions than those of indignation, ridicule, or surprise. He constantly makes you think, but very rarely makes you feel. There are some few lines in his plays, and occasionally a whole passage, that reaches the verge of pathos; but you are conscious that it is not real, and that what is real in him and paramount, is sarcasm, scorn, logic, and wit.

"Of all English poets, Dryden perhaps is the most English. He is as emphatically Saxon, as Pope is conspicuously French.

It has been well observed, that what was said of Rome, adorned by Augustus, might be applied by an easy metaphor, to English Poetry, improved by Dryden. He found it brick and left it marble. This is a true image of what Dryden did for our Literature. The Poetry he found in the grave days before the Restoration was a curious mixture of cobweb fancies and tawdry spangles; for the age of the Puritans was an age of contradictions, of serious aims and heroic actions, seeking expression through a decorated style and an ecstatic vocabulary. The Poetry he left is solid and enduring; no fluctuations of taste can impair its influence; and no changes in our language can render it obsolete."

It is, perhaps, unnecessary for us to say that this "Annotated Edition of the Poets" is of a foolscap octavo size; and is printed in a distinct and beautiful type, which, without crowding the page,

allows of nearly twice as much matter as is ordinarily contained in a similar volume of poetry, while it is issued at half the usual price.

Hungary, Past and Present: embracing its History from the Magyar Conquest to the Present Time. With a Sketch of Hungarian Literature. By EMERIC SZABAD, late Secretary under the Hungarian National Government. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.

THERE are peculiarities in the history of the Magyars that have stamped themselves indelibly on the character and life of the people. They claim for their ancestors a pagan tribe, who, long enough ago for fable and legend to have gathered about their names and exploits, came swarming from beyond the Caucasus, seeking a new home in the west, spreading terror throughout the then enervated nations of Europe, and who succeeded, finally, in establishing themselves in the very centre of the western world, on the plains of ancient Panonia. Thus it happens, that the Magyars love with enthusiasm the soil their fathers conquered; and, at the same time, look with pride and restlessness to the cradle of their race. They have ever worshipped the idea of nationality, yet have failed to realize it to themselves, and to found and secure it amongst nations; they have cherished the burning aspirations of a great and noble people, yet have borne no part in the movements of European civilization; they grandly resent the being treated as strangers in Europe, yet themselves preserve, in their proud sadness, the feeling and character of strangers.

Such a people has no national history. They have neither originated any distinct principle of civilization, nor developed a national life, nor rooted a constitution and a policy in Europe. From the days of the Asiatic emigration, with which the story of the Magyars begins, their career has been full of splendid incidents, of impressive struggles, and of particular facts that have a historical value. But the most that can be made of the Magyar story is a collection of narratives, with little internal connexion, of bold adventures, fierce and bloody warfare, and brilliant ebullitions of patriotic ardour and courage. When the muse of history has to represent the genius of Hungary, she comes forth as a noble maiden, majestic and beautiful, with wild bright eye and quivering lip, but all dishevelled, and but scantily clothed in a robe of shreds and patches.

Emeric Szabad has collected with due care, and more accurately, perhaps, than has been done before, the materials available for writing the annals of the Hungarian people. The early chroniclers, the native historians, and the late work of Horvath, who had the advantage of consulting the archives preserved at Vienna, where all the national records of Hungary have been carried by the oppressive stronger power—these are the sources of the volume now given to the public. Although Emeric Szabad tells us that historic truth, and not attractiveness of form, has chiefly been kept in view in his labours, he has also succeeded in imparting a generally prevailing, and sometimes a very intense, interest to his narrative. He has given to his readers, as his object was, "all those facts and broad incidents" which make up a true picture of the various phases of Hungarian society in successive eras.

The distribution of the contents of this volume is as clear and definite as the nature of the materials permitted. The origin of the Magyars can be reached through tradition and speculation alone. The reign of the first dynasty, that of Arpad, is buried in much obscurity, and cannot be conceived as a great and impressive whole. After the extinction of the line of Arpad, and the commencement of the Anyon dynasty, more intelligible particulars are at command. Of the Hunyadis a tolerably distinct image may be formed, and of the events of the time, a general view may be satisfactorily attained. Enough—would that it were less—is at hand for the history of Hungary after the appearance of the Hapsburgs; that dynasty which has, by subtle falsehood and unrelenting cruelty, ever disastrously injured the vitals of Hungary, and throws a baleful shadow over the future of a people who have the right to be free, and deserve to be happy. The author of this book has viewed the "Past" of his country in a sober and discerning spirit, and he speaks of the "Present" with the feeling of a patriot, not of a partizan.

Of the origin of the Magyar people, he gives us this, the best possible, account:—

"The origin of the Magyars has afforded to antiquarians no small subject of controversy. According to some, they are the descendants of the ancient *Scythians*; others class them among the *Turkish* tribes; some pretend that they are descended from the *Huns*; others, again, attempt to prove their Parthian extraction; while the great antiquarian of Hungary, Stephen Horvath, finds no difficulty in tracing back the pedigree of the Magyars to *Noah*. More recent and practical inquiries, however, enable us safely to throw aside all vague opinion and mere etymological speculation; and whoever reads *Huc's Travels in Tartary*, that is at all acquainted with the characteristics of the Hungarian race, will find sufficient evidence to conclude that the Magyar belongs to those Mogul-

Tartar tribes which live, down to the present day, scattered along the confines of China. The Magyars (the idiomatic synonyme for Hungarians, and probably the proper name of one of their tribes), driven by internal dissensions from their native deserts, found a home for centuries around the Caucasus, and along the barren shores of the Wolga. About the end of the ninth century they suddenly struck their tents, and pressed irresistibly forward to the very heart of Europe. What the fate might have been of these wanderingshepherds, had an arm like that of Charlemagne still swayed the sceptre in Pannonia, or rather, what the fate might have been of Christian Europe, had the conquest of the Turks preceded that of the Magyars, is a question on which it were idle to speculate. The invisible Power had chosen his own time, and at the destined moment these Asiatic nomads, as if borne on the wings of the gale, were all at once seen to cover the wide plains which divide the Eastern empire from that of the West.

"Before commencing the conquest, the Magyars entered into a compact, which throws some light on their general character. This compact consisted of the following points:—first, the chief power was to be hereditary in the family of Arpad, while the power of the chiefs of the respective tribes was to be hereditary also; secondly, each successive prince was obliged to undergo an election before assuming the supreme power; thirdly, treason or faithlessness on the part of the chief of the State, was to be punished with banishment, and, in the case of the chiefs of the tribes, with death; fourthly, the fruits of the conquest were to be divided according to merit in the work of the conquest. Nor did these stern barbarians dispatch this solemn agreement with a mere verbal oath. In the centre of a circle was placed a rude vessel of hollowed stone. Around it stood the assembled chiefs of the tribes. Then Arpad, first baring his arm, pierced it with the point of his falchion, till the blood flowed into the basin of stone. The chiefs of the tribes followed his example in succession, till the vessel reeked with the warm blood. Each man then put his lips to the bowl, and, quaffing the mingled draught, they testified in the presence of the high sun, which they worshipped, their solemn purpose to conquer or to die together."

It is almost impossible to say how much of truth there is in the popular account of Stephen, the first crowned and Christian king of Hungary; but, allowing a great deal for the fables which the fondness of after times may have gathered around his person and reign, there appears to be enough evidence to sustain the justly proud boast, that Hungary had a constitution and free institutions before the days of the Great Charter in this country. The following is Szabad's brief account of the political measures of Stephen. The authorities are not given.

"The whole country was divided into counties, each of them governed by a lord-lieutenant, and a sheriff nominated by the crown—an arrangement which necessarily overthrew the power formerly enjoyed by the chiefs of the tribes. The office of viceroy was represented by a palatine, who served as the mediator between the king and people. Stephen instituted also a state-council, consisting of the barons, the high clergy, and the middle-class nobility, or *milites*. These *milites*, similar to the English yeomanry, enjoyed their privileges in consequence of their military service, from which even the clergy were not exempt. The unprivileged class was called *Jobagiones*, a term applied at a later period to the serfs, though at that time the slaves or serfs were an entirely distinct class. In the assembly of nobles convoked by the king in the year 1010, Hungary received its first written laws, known by the name of the Decrete of St. Stephen, and which consisted of civil, ecclesiastical, and criminal statutes. The measures adopted by Stephen for the general introduction of Christianity, were marked by extreme violence. Laws enacted to the effect, that everyone should forsake his old creed and embrace the Christian religion, and that those who proved refractory should be punished with slavery or banishment. It is needless to observe, that the coercive measures of Stephen only seemed to retard the spread of Christianity in Hungary; and even the next century witnessed some vestiges of the ancient faith. The institutions called into life by Stephen, survived more than 800 years, fraught with every vicissitude of fortune; institutions which, demolished as they now are, are still sufficient in some measure to paralyse the hands of the Austrian Kaiser, despite his courts-martial and his gibbets."

We should uncommonly like to gratify our readers by extracting the author's sketches of the Hunyadis—perhaps the noblest figures among Hungary's heroes—and of the Zapolyas and the monk Martinussius; but it is impossible. When Emeric Szabad comes to speak of the Hapsburgs, it is not to be wondered at that a low scornful tone seems to sound through his narrative; but he seldom sinks the dignity of the historian in the zeal of the politician. We do not enter into his narrative of the late struggle, as that is not written in the spirit of history but of personal enthusiasm for the national cause. It is the least impartial portion of the work; but it was not possible yet to write the history of that movement, especially by the hand of the "Secretary of the late National Government." It contains no new facts, nor any better version of them than is already possessed; but it goes so far into detail, and is so nearly a pamphlet on the Hungarian question, as to give long extracts from speeches on the subject made in the House of Commons. The author's judgment of Kossuth is, that he "was not the man for exacting strict obedience or making the revolution feared. A giant in creating what was good, his powers in destroying opposing evil were those of a dwarf." And he subsequently intimates that he "needed the active greatness which dares to attempt and unhesitatingly achieves whatever is necessary to the realisation of the internal belief."

The author has given brief sketches of the most eminent writers in Hungarian literature. But that literature is of such recent origin, and is so purely Hungarian and for Hungary, that it has little interest besides that belonging to its illustration of the national character. Poets are in the

majority, while science and philosophy have yet scarcely a representative among the authors of Hungary. But one poet only—Vörösmarty, and one writer of fiction—Eötvös, the author of "The Village Notary," lately translated into English, are likely to occupy the attention of readers in this country.

Foreshadows: Lectures on our Lord's Miracles and Parables. By Rev. J. CUMMING, D.D. Two vols. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged, with Illustrations.

Sabbath Evening Readings in St. Mark. By Rev. Dr. CUMMING.

Christ our Passover; or, Thoughts on the Atonement. By Rev. Dr. CUMMING.

The Tent and the Altar; or, Sketches from Patriarchal Life. By Rev. Dr. CUMMING.

London: A. Hall, Virtue, and Co.

If the Rev. Dr. Cumming chooses to print everything he preaches, and his own peculiar public chooses to purchase all he prints, we don't know that any one has a right to complain. We need not describe or criticise these books, then, with any view to the author's circle; for therein such labours would be deemed quite superfluous. Still less need we describe or criticise them to the general public—which has, no doubt, already taken Dr. Cumming's measure, with some approach to accuracy, and knows what to expect in the numerous volumes he is ever issuing from the press.

We have already acknowledged Dr. Cumming's merits as a clear and eloquent speaker and writer; and whenever we have been able to approve the matter of his works, we have rejoiced to have some points of sympathy with him, and to commend the volumes in question to the attention of our readers. We are able to select two from the above list of the Doctor's recent publications, and to characterise them as useful popular works, worthy of acceptance. One is the "Sabbath Evening Readings"—which is necessarily a summary of the results of other men's labours—and is a good summary, too, on the whole—with practical applications, and is open to objection only as concealing all reference to the authors that have been most freely used, except Mr. Alford—whose new Greek Testament, by the way, is itself a summary, with plagiarisms, from other men, chiefly the Germans. "Christ Our Passover" is the other work to which we have alluded; with the purposes and simple character of which we sympathise thoroughly, though the theology is not very profound, nor altogether of the right complexion.

But we do most thoroughly abhor all literary imposture and dishonesty, especially when these bad qualities are exhibited in religious literature, and by a popular celebrity, who has gained the ear of a large multitude, and must be gaining something more substantial than fame by their docility. Now, we have often said that Dr. Cumming's books are never more than echoes; and we might have pointed back to the volumes on the Apocalypse as specimens of rather impudent reproduction of the materials belonging to another. We have a yet more flagrant specimen of this habit of "appropriating" in the volumes before us, entitled "Foreshadows." If Dr. Cumming chooses to preach the ideas and words of other men in his own pulpit, he has no right to print and publish them as his own thoughts and teachings. And we intend now to show that this piece of immorality has been committed by Dr. Cumming. We will say nothing of his obligations to Neander—although we have tracked him there—but we will take Mr. TRENCH's well known volume on the "Miracles," and Dr. Cumming's book on the same subject; and we will beg the reader to read these extracts printed in parallels.

Trench.

"What we commonly call miracles are in the sacred scriptures termed sometimes 'wonders,' sometimes 'signs,' sometimes 'powers,' &c. To take then first the same 'wonder,' in which the effect of astonishment which he work produces upon the beholder is transferred to the work itself, &c. Its purpose is, that it should forcibly startle from the mere dream of a sense-bound existence, . . . should be a summons to man that he should open his eyes to the spiritual appeal which is about to be addressed to him."

"But the miracle is also a 'sign,' a token and indication of the near presence and working of God. In this word the ethical end and purpose of the miracle comes out the most prominently, &c. At the same time the sign is not of necessity a miracle, &c."

"They are signs and

Cumming.

"There are three great expressions by which miracles are designated—the first, a 'miracle,' or 'wonder'; the second, a 'sign'; and the third, a 'power.' The first epithet is that of 'wonder.' . . . It merely implies that by the act just witnessed, wonder, awe, amazement, is created; all that it is designed in this character to do, is to break the slumber of the senses, to disturb the continuity of apathy, and to rouse man to a perception of a presence greater and mightier than himself."

"The second name given to a miracle is a higher and more expressive one—a 'sign.' All signs are not miracles, but all miracles are signs. . . . Whenever we say there is a sign, we imply that there is something that is signified. When, therefore, a miracle is performed, it is, in this light, a

pledges of something more and beyond themselves; they are valuable, not so much for what they are, as for what they indicate of the grace and power of the doer, or of the connexion in which he stands to a higher world."

"But while the miracle is not thus nature, so neither is it against nature. . . . Beyond nature, beyond and above the nature which we know, they are, but not contrary to it. The healing of the sick can in no way be termed against nature, seeing that the sickness which was healed was against the true nature of man—that it is sickness which is abnormal and not health."

"The healing is the restoration of the primitive order."

"The true miracle is a higher and a purer nature, coming down out of the world of untroubled harmonies into this world of ours, which so many discords have jarred and disturbed, and bringing this back again, though it be but for one prophetic moment, into harmony with that higher."

"We should term the miracle not the infraction of a law, but behold in it the lower law neutralised, and for the time put out of working by an higher; and of this abundant analogous examples are evermore going forward before our eyes. . . . Thus when I lift my arm, the law of gravitation is not, as far as my arm is concerned, denied or annihilated, but is held in suspense by the higher law of my will."

"True miracles are always, more or less, redemptive acts; in other words, works not merely of power but of grace, each one an index and a prophecy of the inner work of man's deliverance, which it accompanies and helps forward. But, as we should justly expect, it was pre-eminently thus with the miracles of Christ. Each one of these is in small, and upon one side or another, a partial realization of the great work which he came to accomplish in the end perfectly and for ever. They are all pledges, while they are first fruits of his power; in each of them the word of salvation is incorporated in an act of salvation."

These comparisons of Dr. Cumming's opening pages with the commencement of a volume to which he does not at all allude, are only a small, and not the worst, specimen of what we have traced through every lecture, and almost on every page, of his book. Let not the purpose for which we give these instances be mistaken. We do not maintain that Mr. Trench's views are purely original, nor do we complain that Dr. Cumming has adopted, on conviction, and made free and full use of Mr. Trench's views. We complain that he has "appropriated" the whole substance of Mr. Trench's volume, and transferred bodily the expositions, illustrations, applications, and characteristic expressions, to his own pages; and has there given them as his own, with no reference to Mr. Trench, and with such variations only as can be effected by transposition, new phraseology, and the intermingling of some of the original nonsense in which Dr. Cumming abounds—as, for instance, in the teetotal discussion, in the lecture on the Water turned into Wine. We might have made our charge more evident by putting the more minute correspondences in the above passages into italics; but we simply beg our readers to read them, paragraph by paragraph, with care and attention. And the whole volume is full of that sort of thing.

We shall not go on to track Dr. Cumming in his habitual path of "appropriation" in the volume on the "Parables." It would be just as easy to sustain the charges we have made from that work as from the other. But we shall turn to "The Tent and the Altar,"—in many respects a beautiful and instructive book,—for a specimen of the nonsense we have further charged on the author:—

"In order to judge of Sarah, and of every one of Sarah's

sign of the presence of God. . . . It conveys meaning and instruction, the chiefest point of which is, that men may here trace the finger, the foot-prints, and the marks of Deity."

"A miracle is not a thing against nature, but something above and beyond what we call nature. For instance, when we read of our Lord's healing the sick, and in other instances raising the dead, we hear it said this is contrary to nature. It is no such thing. We call it contrary to nature, because we think that sickness is natural. Sickness is not natural; it is an unnatural thing; it is a discord in a glorious harmony; it is a blot upon the fair creation; it is most unnatural; and was never meant originally to be. . . . Thus, then, the healing of the sick, and the quickening of the dead, are not contrary to nature, but the perfection of nature; it is the bringing back of nature to her pristine state; it is restoring the primeval harmony; . . . a specimen of that new Genesis, under which there shall be no more sickness, nor sorrow, nor trial, &c., &c. It is the expansion, the perfection, the ennobling of nature; it brings nature back to what it was."

"A miracle is an addition of a new and nobler law to the law that previously was; it is not the destruction of any existing law, but it is superadding to that law a more perfect and glorious one. Thus, when I raise my arm, the power of gravitation ought to make that arm instantly fall; but when I keep that arm up, it is not by the destruction of the law of gravitation, but it is the superadding a higher law, the great law of life."

"All true, heavenly miracles, have this one grand feature: they have a redemptive character; they go to counteract and reverse the effects of the fall. If we try every miracle performed by our Lord by this test, we shall find it stand."

"Every miracle that Christ did seems to bring nature back to her primeval harmonies, casting out the disease, the discord, the intrusive and disorganizing elements that sin introduced, and giving, as it were, an earnest and a fore-shadow of that blessed day when all sound shall be harmony, all lessons shall be light, and all affections shall be love."

daughters, who are the true Saracens, we shall look at character as a whole, and not treat it fragmentarily."

"The Arabs, who are the descendants of Ishmael, were originally called *Hagarenes*, from Hagar their mother, but they took it as an insult that they should be thought the descendants of Abraham's second wife, and wishing to be made and deemed what is untrue, they have called themselves *Saracens*, &c. . . . they have laid aside the name of *Hagarenes*, . . . and they have taken the name of *Saracens*, from Sarah," &c.

This absurd etymology, sanctioned by only one great name, that we can remember, Du Cange, is the foundation of a whole lecture on "The Saracens and Hagarenes;" in which Paul's allegory of Sarah and Hagar is pursued to an unlooked-for conclusion:—

"We are *Hagarenes* by nature, and *Saracens* by grace; we are born into the family of Hagar, we are born again into the family of Sarah."

Now, really we can't see the cleverness or worth of this pretty quip. It seems to us simply stupid. Again, in the following passage, we find what we must consider a terribly empty account of salvation and faith; and a very unpleasing illustration, even if it were really illustrative:—

"I do not know any shorter definition of Salvation than this, taking God at his word, treating the Bible as a reality. What is a £10 Bank of England note? It is a piece of paper not worth a farthing, but nevertheless to you by faith it is property; though it be but the possession of a bit of paper to sense, yet it is by faith the possession of ten sovereigns, or of anything that ten sovereigns can purchase. So this Book, which to sense is not better bound than a thousand in the library, is to faith the compendium of all that you need to make you holy and happy in time and eternity."

We had marked more such passages; but cannot give them space. There is much that is good in the book, but its fundamental conception is wrong, we think:—it, like the author's "Church before the Flood," treats the religion of the earliest ages as a complete Christianity; not as a preparation, not as a germ, but as a distinct anticipation of a dying Christ and the Gospel of the Cross.

The Cross and the Dragon; or, The Fortunes of Christianity in China: with Notices of the Christian Missions and Missionaries, and some Account of the Chinese Secret Societies. By JOHN KESSON, of the British Museum. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

On the subject of Christianity in China there is no lack of information, detailed and complete; but the facts are scattered up and down a considerable number of volumes, some of which—those, for instance, that may be considered authoritative, as to the earlier efforts to introduce the Christian Religion to "the Celestials,"—are not common books, nor readily accessible to the mass of readers. It is not now, for the first time, that an attempt is made to collect these facts; although Mr. Kesson's preface seems to arrogate for him the merit of the first construction of a whole, from the several parts. We willingly allow that there was still room for his attempting it, as well as special inducements thereto just now, in the interest felt by Christian people in the strange politico-religious movement going on in the Chinese empire. And we cannot withhold from Mr. Kesson the praise of having searched carefully for his materials, and presented them intelligibly and concisely to his readers. We do not, however, find any passage so picturesque—which many might have been,—or so deeply interesting in its manner—which the whole book, under the hand of any but a very second-rate writer upon second-hand materials, would have been,—as to attract us to quotation; and so we allow Mr. Kesson himself to describe its contents. There are five distinct heads of the subject, he says:—

"Under the first, notice is taken of the legend of the introduction of Christianity into China by the Apostle Thomas and his disciples. Under the second head, some space is devoted to the history of the Nestorian Christians in China, in the seventh century, with their leader, Olopen, the first apostle. The third head comprises the missions of the Dominicans and Franciscans in the fourteenth century; the chief actor being John of Monte Corvin, the second Chinese apostle. This mission was speedily extinguished, and no further attempts were made to introduce a knowledge of Christianity into China until the sixteenth century, when the Jesuit mission was founded by the celebrated Matteo Ricci. The labours of the Jesuits form the subject of the fourth head; and the fifth is devoted to the Protestant missions of the present century."

As far as we have examined these several sections, they seem to be scrupulously exact; and the spirit in which later missions are treated is sincere and just, although there is no evidence of any very deep sympathy with their spiritual purposes, on the author's part. But in speaking of the earlier missions—that of the Jesuits, for example—there are strokes of impartiality which are almost ludicrously impartial, and appear to proceed from indifference in religion. On the whole, the book is a useful one, and meets a present want. Its chief failure is in manner, and that is prosy and heavy enough.

The best and most valuable part of the book is the account of the Secret Societies of China. To these, much more than to Christianity, the author is inclined to attribute the rise and progress of the present insurrection. He is one of those extreme

à priori people, who never condescend to make inductions from facts; and who will demonstrate to you the impossibility, in the nature of things, of a fact being so and so, when it is so. Thus, Mr. Kesson informs us, that—

"In common with the general public, he read of an insurrection in China with some surprise, especially when to this it was added that the movement was a religious one, having Christianity for its basis, and not only Christianity, but Protestant Christianity! His inquiries have led him to the conclusion, that here there must be a mistake, and that the rebellion is but feebly charged with the spiritual element. He has, indeed, great doubts whether there exists in China much that is deserving of the name of Christianity at all. It may appear presumptuous to doubt, in the face of so much general belief, and so many sanguine expectations of the future; but the doubt cannot be avoided."

And he adds:—

"—The writer believes that its motives are entirely political, and that it is fomented by the Secret Societies which abound throughout the empire."

And this he believes in the absence of facts and testimonies that at all bear in the direction his notion takes! So it happens that, before the public has time to read Mr. Kesson's prejudgments, there arrives a letter from Dr. Medhurst, published in the journals of the last week, containing direct evidence that there are no "Secret Society men" among the rebels; that the rebel-leader purges his cause of them; and that the rebellion is not so "feebly charged with the spiritual element," but that licentiousness, theft, drunkenness, the use of opium, and all the characteristic Chinese vices, are punished with severity; while such religious beliefs and rites as they have attained to, are rigidly and reverently observed.

The Last Leaf from Sunny Side. By H. TRUSTA. With a Memorial of the Author, by AUSTIN PHELPS. London: Clarke, Beeton & Co.

Records of Alderbrook; or Fanny Forester's Village Sketches. By EMILY C. JUDSON. London: Low & Co.

WHEN briefly noticing "Sunny Side, and a Peep at No. 5," we ventured to give the preference to H. Trusta over Miss Wetherell, or Warner, as a writer of fiction. We retain the preference; and we consider ourselves vindicated by the first of the volumes named above; in which "the Angel over the Right Shoulder" is a pure and perfect gem; and the "Puritan Family" and "the Country Cousins" are worthy of the genius and piety, that combined to create the beautiful pictures in "Sunny Side." But we are saddened to know that this is truly "the last leaf" that will be blown to us from that pleasant "Sunny Side." The gifted and lovable woman who wrote these books is dead. She was the daughter of the venerated Professor Moses Stuart, and the name she adopted in publishing her works—"Trusta"—will be seen to be an anagram of Stuart. She married the Rev. Austin Phelps, who has prefixed to this little volume a sketch of his wife's life and character, which is full of the deepest interest and of exquisite feeling. We beg our readers to get the book; from which we would quote a great deal if it were not to be had for a shilling. The character of Mrs. Stuart Phelps, is worthy the study of females; and the commentary on it is that very simple, but indescribably beautiful, little story, by which the heart of every woman will be touched, and the home and domestic life of a woman ennobled and hallowed to her,—"The Angel over the Right Shoulder."

The volume we have placed as a companion, "Alderbrook," is the production of the last wife of Dr. Judson, the Burmese missionary. She is well known in America,—having published much, previous to her marriage, under the name of "Fanny Forester." It is a little book much to our mind;—something like "Our Village" in character, only with more religion, and more moral significance, and less genius and literary culture. It contains very fresh, agreeable pictures of homes, society, and manners in the American village of Morrisville, in the state of New York—*poetice*, Alderbrook—in which "Fanny Forester" was born. Our verdict is, that the author be admitted to the select and domestic circle in which Grace Greenwood, H. Trusta, and Fanny Fern—as the second rank of American author-esses—hold their gentle rule.

Being, Analytically Described in its chief Respects; and Principal Truths in the order of this Analysis, fully stated: with a Detail of Man's Spiritual Nature and Chief Relations. By JOHN RICHARD PICKMERE. London: Published for the Author, by John Chapman.

This is a huge quarto. We have done the author the service of quoting the whole of his title-page. He dedicates his work at some length, "to all persons of high public trust and authority, of whatever nation," running over, especially, Queen Victoria, the Nobility, the Legislature, Ministers of Religion, Philosophers, and "all others of superior rank, station," &c., ending with "all the Author's Fellow-beings of the present age or ages future." In his Advertisement, he speaks of "general facts and questions, metaphysical, theolo-

gical, religious and moral," that have "hitherto been left in doubt, perplexity or obscurity;" and adds—"the author, discarding all mystery, openly and confidently asserts, that in this book these intellectual difficulties are explained away." Making a dive into the middle of the book, to see if these pretensions were sustained by our first taste of the contents, we found and marked, and we now quote, the following verdict on *Poetry*:—

"Poetry, considered as the production of others, is a source of mental improvement: good poetry of the higher kinds, by the attractiveness of its metre, and by its rich, bold and apt figurative expression, its energy of diction, and ardour of expression, and often too its elevation of sentiment, awakens the finer emotions of the soul, improves the intellectual taste, enraptures every pleasurable feeling proper to the subject; and if directed to good morals, it advances the cause of piety and virtue. To write poetry with a view to publication, however, unless for some periodical work, is not to be generally recommended," &c., &c.

Now, if our readers want to know more of the book, they must get it for themselves. We believe, and we are sorry for it, that Mr. Pickmere thinks he had "a call" to write and publish this work.

Illustrations of Scripture from Botanical Science. By DAVID GORRIE. London and Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons.

AFTER some interesting remarks on the moral and spiritual teachings of botany, the author of this elegant little volume states that his aim is, "to bring together some of those illustrations of Scripture emblems which botanical science is fitted to afford, thus forming a small contribution towards the elucidation of a subject which, though it has already occupied the attention of many writers and commentators, is almost inexhaustible, and still affords room for fresh remark." The work is written intelligently and pleasingly, and furnishes no small amount of botanical knowledge, as well as many useful and novel illustrations of Scripture from the facts of the science. The arrangement is as follows:—The parts and natural processes of plants; the elements and agents essential to vegetation; the arts of culture; and the properties and uses of plants. The information under each of these heads is condensed but clear; and much light is thrown on numerous interesting Bible facts, figures, and references. We heartily commend the book; and chiefly as a gift-book, which successfully combines use, delight, and beauty. It is illustrated by ten beautiful wood-cuts, on separate pages; and is perfect as to paper and typography.

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